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MIDDLESEX  
IN  
BRITISH, ROMAN, AND SAXON  
TIMES

MONTAGU SHARPE











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AN ANCIENT TRACKWAY—A MIDDLESEX GREEN LANE



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ANTIQUITIES OF MIDDLESEX

MIDDLESEX  
IN  
BRITISH, ROMAN, AND SAXON TIMES

BY  
MONTAGU SHARPE

OF GRAY'S INN, BARRISTER-AT-LAW, D.L., CHAIRMAN MIDDLESEX QUARTER  
SESSIONS, AND LATE CHAIRMAN OF THE MIDDLESEX COUNTY  
COUNCIL; MEMBER OF THE SOCIETY FOR THE  
PROMOTION OF ROMAN STUDIES



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TO MY WIFE





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## INTRODUCTORY NOTE

IN placing before the public this sketch of the Middlesex district in British, Roman, and Saxon times, I ought first of all to mention that portions of its contents have appeared in a series of papers upon "The Antiquities" of the County, written and published between the years 1906-17. These papers have been revised, brought up to date, and with considerable addition of new matter, are now consolidated in the present work.

The subjects herein set forth mainly fall into two categories—the first consisting chiefly of references to the various antiquities which have been discovered in Middlesex, relating to British, Roman, and Saxon times, together with numerous extracts pertaining to the County taken from the "Anglo-Saxon Chronicle," Saxon charters, and other sources of information. The second contains the results of investigations undertaken concerning certain archaeological features in the County hitherto unexplained. They include the orientation of local ways, a fortified ford of the Lower Thames, the Roman land survey, sites of parish churches, and an analysis of the Domesday Survey returns for Middlesex.

I should mention that by the term "Middlesex" or "County of Middlesex" is meant the ancient geographical County, but which was exclusive of the City of London. Under an Act of Parliament passed in 1888, Middlesex parishes surrounded by and including Hammersmith, Kensington, Paddington, Hampstead, St. Pancras, Islington, and Hackney, forming what was commonly known as London north of the Thames, were made part of the then newly constituted administrative County of London, though geographically this area still remains within Middlesex.

It may be asked what induced me to attempt to write the early history of the Metropolitan County, which has been supposed by some persons to possess little or nothing of any antiquarian interest or historical importance. In the first place my attention was drawn to the antiquities of Brentford, the County town, whither for many years I used to ride to attend Petty Sessions. This township in early days was a place of considerable note, for it stood at the head of an important ford across the lower Thames through which passed the main trackway from the Kentish ports to the Midlands; while through the town also ran the great western highway of the Romans. Here in A.D. 705 the Bishop of London arranged for a meeting to settle disputes which had arisen between the adjoining kingdoms of Essex and Wessex. While later on in the same century Synods of the Church were held at Brentford under Offa, King of Mercia, who then described the town as "a well known place." In A.D. 1016 an engagement took place here between the Danes and English, when the host of the former were routed and sought

escape by the ford across the Thames. Many other interesting particulars and references to the old town in later times, including the battle fought there in 1642, are to be found in numerous works.

With this early historical past, it was only natural when remains of numerous stakes of oak were being extracted from both the bed and foreshore of the Thames in the Brentford reach, that I should seek to determine whether they had formed part of any ancient work defending this well-known ford, such as Caesar describes in his account of his passage across the river. Many stout fights must have occurred for the possession of the fordway, evidenced by the number of celts, bronze swords, etc., which have been unearthed from time to time in its vicinity, specimens of which can be seen in the valuable collection of antiquities in the Brentford Museum.

My attention was next called to a curious and unexplained feature connected with ancient rural ways in the County. Why, by whom, and when, were so many of them laid out in cross parallels differently oriented within its eastern, middle, and south-western districts. A design of this nature could not have resulted from chance and must have formed part of an extensive plan which could only have been undertaken by trained surveyors such as the Roman government possessed, and it is more than a curious coincidence that one of the early governors of Britain was Julius Frontinus, the author of a learned treatise on land mensuration. Though agrimensorial marks have been found in different parts of England, hitherto no attempt appears to have been made to recover from the face of the land the actual details of the Roman Survey of which these marks indicated the limits and bounds.

Herein lay a new and promising field for research, though requiring some knowledge on the subject of Roman land surveying which is to be found in the works of Frontinus and other *gromatici veteres*. After studying this subject it became evident that Middlesex, with its adjoining districts, had been divided into large rectangular areas, each with a different orientation, and then sub-divided into square blocks of land (*possessae*) by cross parallel lines, some of which are still indicated by mounds of earth, stones, etc. When it was established that the County area had originally been thus laid out, the solution of other interesting antiquarian problems connected with the land appeared to be in sight. It became obvious that most of the Middlesex mother or parish churches adjoined the lines marking out the *possessae*, and since Roman rural ways generally followed these lines, the presumption is that these churches marked the sites of pagan wayside chapels attached to Romano-British settlements. This would be in accordance with Pope Gregory's famous advice to missionaries, to utilize for Christian worship the *sacra*, where the pagans had hitherto assembled for their religious rites, and in this way many of these ancient sites have since been occupied by Christian edifices.

A *possessa* of land according to the surveyor Hyginus contained 1,300 *jugera*, which in Middlesex was found could be divided into twenty-five parts or *centuriae* of 50 *jugera* each, by cross lines 388 yards apart, and of this a remarkable instance of five such successive intervals upon a road has been discovered in the County. The remaining 50 *jugera* required to complete the *possessa* were allocated for

necessary ways and means of access to the land. As a writer has observed when describing agrimensorial remains round Manchester, "the order-loving Romans invariably surveyed and divided their land for taxation, and the divisions so created by them certainly endured during the centuries of Imperial rule, and after the Romans left, the invading hordes of a later date were incapable of improving the system they found already in vogue, and no record exists of their having made any attempt of the kind."<sup>1</sup>

It soon became evident that the Saxon virgate, the size of which has caused much controversy, was in Middlesex simply this former Roman *centuria*. The County area not having changed between the taking of Domesday in A.D. 1086, and that of the modern Ordnance survey, it followed, if the former had been correctly taken, that the total acreage of the two surveys should agree. This was found to be the case when the virgate was reckoned as containing 31.155 statute acres, the known extent of a *centuria* with 50 *jugera*, and after every entry for the Middlesex Domesday area had been worked out on this basis. Virgates varying in size will probably be found in districts settled during the later Roman occupation, when the earlier system of land divisions was less observed, and where the rude Saxon was the first to open up fresh fields.

Among more complex problems arising out of these ancient land divisions, is the origin of tithings and their connection with the common field system of agriculture, which latter in this County lasted well into the last century, for "country folk cling to old ways and are little given to change." Hyginus mentions that the settlers having by ballot been arranged in groups of ten, next drew lots for holdings in the tillage fields of the settlement. These groups with their decurions apparently reappear in the Saxon tithings of ten men under a tithing or tenth man, while the Romano-British holdings with appendant common pasturage in the early settlements, seem to be identical with those recorded in the Middlesex Domesday and held with common of pasture in the Saxon villis. Another old time question awaiting final solution is the origin of the Middlesex Domesday assessment of 880 geld hides, which in 75 per cent. of the Middlesex villis was apportioned in amounts of 5 and its multiples. This surely points to the practical methods of the Romans, particularly since 5 multiplied by 176 the number of *possessae* into which the Domesday County had apparently been divided by the surveyors, also yields 880 for a total census figure.

Included among other subjects of interest are the Saxon place-names, especially those in the south-western district of Middlesex, from which it would appear that the County was first invaded by West Saxons prior to the lower Colne becoming the boundary of the East Saxon Kingdom about the commencement of the seventh century. The extent of the kingdom at the beginning of that century may be gauged from it having been probably coterminous with the diocese of London, which latter remained unaltered till the middle of the nineteenth century.

The above, with many other details relating to pre-conquestal times in Middlesex, are considered in the following pages, and I hope that they may prove to be of interest to the reader. Criticism will doubtless be levelled at several of the

<sup>1</sup> "Lanc. and Chesh. Antiq. Soc. Trans., 1905," vol. xxxiii, Crofton.



conclusions on subjects falling mostly within the second category, and particularly as regards the ancient land survey.

That this survey was carried out becomes an obvious fact after the evidences of it have been thoroughly studied, and it is further identified from the light it throws upon other early agrarian questions. The hitherto somewhat limited theories of the study upon this subject must now give way before the facts gleaned from the field, and students can judge for themselves how far the Roman agricultural settlement of Britain, as disclosed in Middlesex, has influenced rural economy in Saxon and later periods, and to what extent it helps to solve several obscure points in early English institutions. If as it has been said "the study of a question is never complete unless you can state your solutions in definite terms, provide adequate reasons for accepting it, and satisfactory answers to the objections which may be raised against it," then it is submitted that the surviving evidences of an ancient survey, which also conforms to the rules of the Roman surveyors, are definite, adequate, and satisfactory.

It is hoped that some readers of this volume may be induced to continue these researches beyond the stage to which they have at present been brought, for there is much to learn about the rural side of the Roman occupation of our country which lasted for over three centuries. A great deal has been written about Roman Britain with respect to main roads, walls, towns, camps, houses with tessellated pavements and hypocausts, Samian ware, coins, burials, tombstones, etc., all interesting evidence of a long and foreign occupation, though now becoming somewhat redundant. On the other hand but little has hitherto been recorded respecting the life and labour of the rural Romano-British population, on whose industry the sustenance of the whole community then depended. Is it to be supposed that the Romans with their genius for agriculture were content to leave one of the most fertile portions of their Empire under the primitive methods of native cultivation? If by the middle of the fourth century Britain under their fostering care had not become a large corn producing country, described by Eumenius as remarkable for the richness of its corn crops, how could Julian have sent his fleet of 800 vessels to and fro with grain for his army on the Rhine; "a number which shows how large an area of the island was under cultivation" the extent of which was probably not exceeded until the middle of the seventeenth century.

In conclusion I take this opportunity of gratefully acknowledging my indebtedness to many kind friends who have helped me with advice and assistance, and to the works of writers of history, and on antiquarian subjects, from which I have drawn many notes.

"Antiquities or remnants of History are like the planks of a shipwreck, when industrious persons by an exact and scrupulous diligence and observation, out of monuments, names, words, proverbs, traditions, private records and evidence, fragments of stories, passages of books and the like, do save and recover somewhat from the deluge of time," Bacon, "Advancement of Learning."

MONTAGU SHARPE.

*October, 1919.*

## ERRATA ET ADDENDA

- Page 12, para. 3, line 1, *before* "Enfield Chase" *insert* "The Mount, Ealing."  
,, 16, para. 3, line 3, *for* "Cynegarium" *read* "Cynegii."  
,, 18, line 8, *insert* "while adjoining the two parks and near the ends of the Dyke are Kitt's End, Enfield; and Catt's End, Ruislip."  
,, 19, para. 2, line 2, *for* "waggon" *read* "wagon."  
,, 35, note 1, *add* "Across Asia Minor on Foot," 1917. On p. 95, Mr. W. J. Childs writes:

Fifteen miles across the mountains lay the little town of Zilleh, scene of Caesar's victory which produced his *Veni, vidi, vici*. . . . Recollection of one battlefield in particular came to my mind and figured in curious contrast with Zilleh, as I hung over the map in the Khan at Yeni Bazaar. At the edge of the Thames in a corner of smoky Brentford not easily found by a stranger [The Ferry head], I had looked sometimes at a monument recording the doings of the same Caesar. . . . A waterman with whom I once talked beside the monument had seemed to bring me almost within sight of Caesar's figure. For him "this chap Julius Caesar" was very much a man of reality. With his own eyes the waterman had seen ancient oak stakes, part of a palisade built to defend the ford against Caesar. With his own hands, indeed—so he averred—he had helped to draw up several of these stakes on a morning when dredging an excavation for some twentieth century purpose had laid them bare. In support of this statement he referred me to the local museum where I might see the stakes myself and read their story.

- ,, 69, para. 3, line 6, *for* "six" *read* "seven."  
,, 70, line 1, *after* "Cranford" *insert* "Dryham."  
,, 70, line 6, *for* "Tolington" *read* "Totington."  
,, 70, end of para. 2, *between* "Grove" and "etc." *insert* "Stone Cross."





# ANTIQUITIES OF MIDDLESEX IN BRITISH, ROMAN, AND SAXON TIMES

## CHAPTER I

### EARLY TIMES

#### ANCIENT ASPECT OF THE COUNTY—TRACKWAYS—ENCAMPMENTS

##### Ancient Aspect of the County.

**I**N order to appreciate the aspect in early times of what is now Middlesex, we must not take the condition of the County to-day, with its towns, roads, well cultivated fields, and in imagination interpose here and there patches of woodland and heath, but rather reverse the scene and chiefly see large stretches of primeval forest hiding small village entrenchments with their connecting trackways, while here and there in the open glade patches of cultivated land appear. Marshy fringes of varying width, a paradise for wildfowl, marked the courses of upwards of four-and-twenty rivers and brooks, the flow of which, choked with weeds and accumulated debris, had but little scour, so that after heavy rainfall the bordering levels, still to be traced, remained for days large sheets of water exhaling damp and mist<sup>1</sup> until it slowly drained away, "so that only the higher grounds lifted themselves from the morasses and woods."

Even a thousand years later a good third of the land was probably covered with wood, thicket, or scrub, another third consisted of heaths and moors. In the east and west there were vast tracks of marshland. The wild boar and wild ox were chased in the woods of Hampstead.<sup>2</sup>

At the time of the Norman conquest and later, Middlesex remained but half cultivated, for the Domesday Survey shows that over fifty per cent. of the County lay in woodlands and rough pasturage.<sup>3</sup>

<sup>1</sup> The atmosphere of Britain, says Strabo, "is more subject to rain than to snow. Even in clear days the mist continues a considerable time," because, as Herodian explains, "marshes everywhere abound from which vapours and exhalations make the atmosphere always appear dense," "Mon. Hist. Brit.," vii and lxiii.

<sup>2</sup> "Hist. Eng. People," Green.

<sup>3</sup> *Vide infra*, chap. xiv, on the Domesday Measures of Middlesex.

The earliest inhabitants of which anything is known were the Neolithic, a pre-Celtic race, who are believed to have been a small, dark-haired, and black-eyed people, with long-shaped heads of a type which is still to be seen in South Wales. In Middlesex river drift implements such as knives, scrapers, arrow-heads, and battle-axes attributed to pre-Celtic races have been found at Acton (Creffield Road, which is considered to have been a manufactory): Dawley and Yiewsley: Ealingdene: Enfield (Bush Hill and Forty Hill): Hackney: Hanwell: Harefield: Harmondsworth: Hayes: Hornsey: Isleworth: Islington: Lower Edmonton: Stamford Hill: Teddington: and about Twickenham<sup>1</sup> and West Drayton. A rude canoe cut out of a solid block of oak was discovered at Shepperton in 1812. Doubtless further finds will be discovered in other parts of the county.

These Neolithic folk were displaced about 1300 B.C. by the first wave of Celtic invaders who are called Goidels or Gaels, to distinguish them from the Brythons (Britons) or second wave of Celtic conquerors arriving about 350 B.C. In a third wave of Celtic invaders, *circa* 150 B.C., the south-east parts of Britain are considered to have been settled by the tribes crossing over from the district between the Rhine and the Seine, and known as Belgæ.<sup>2</sup> On settling here they retained, says Caesar, the names of the several states from which they are descended.<sup>3</sup> Thus the Catuvellauni of Middlesex and the northern watershed of the Thames came from the Catalauni of Chalons, and the Atrebates of Berkshire from the Atrebates of Artois.

**Trackways.**—Intercourse between Britain and Gaul was established long prior to Caesar's invasions in the middle of the first century B.C., and the line of route across the Channel was then, as now, directed to the points of shortest passage. Merchants would land at Dover and proceed along the uplands of Kent, probably by the "Pilgrims' Way," till the Medway was reached. Thence leaving that way and proceeding north-west they would arrive in the neighbourhood of Shooters Hill, from whence could be seen stretching westwards for miles the broad marshes of the Thames, which at high tide were covered with water, forming a vast lake. Across this marsh an intricate path branched off to a minor ford across the Thames to Thornea, a little island now part of Westminster. But the main trackway kept to the higher ground above the marshes on the Surrey side till the river Wandle was reached, which it appears was crossed by a bridge.<sup>4</sup>

<sup>1</sup> Dr. J. Leeson of Twickenham possesses a valuable collection.

<sup>2</sup> The Brythons when they invaded the country from Gaul were in the early iron age of culture, and they gradually drove the Gaels before them into the Highlands of Scotland, the Isle of Man, and Ireland. In the later centuries many of the Romanized Brythons and Belgæ in turn retreated before the Saxons, Angles, and Jutes into Cumberland, Wales, Cornwall, and to Brittany.

<sup>3</sup> "De Bello Gallico," Caesar, v, 12.

<sup>4</sup> See chap. vii, *infra*.







Thence across the high ground, now Wimbledon Common, on which stood a large circular encampment, still to be seen, until the way descended to the Thames, marked by a lane through Kew Gardens, only closed in 1803 by an Act of Parliament. Here lay the great ford of the lower Thames over a broad bed of gravel covered at low tide with shallow water. Being the chief entrance to the Midlands, the next main ford was at Wallingford fifty miles higher up the stream, it was a ford of the first importance and, in consequence, was strongly fortified for a mile on either side, as will be subsequently described.

Two other trackways appear to have led to the southern end of the ford, one from Regnum (near Chichester) in the tribal territory of the Regni, which the subsequent Roman "staneway" probably followed through the great forest (Andresweald) and on as far as Leatherhead, from whence it proceeded direct to Londinium. The other came from Calleva, the chief entrenchment of the Atrebates (the later Silchester of the Roman period), thus connecting it with the south-east ports in Kent, and where this trackway crossed the valley of the Wey, it was protected by a camp in Oatlands Park, and by another on St. George's Hill: of these only traces of the latter remain.<sup>1</sup>

From the northern, or Brentford, end of the ford three main trackways passed through Middlesex. One went eastwards, keeping along the rising ground above the marshy fringe of the Thames, and from which observation could be kept on hostile vessels using the waterway. It led through Strand-on-the-Green, Chiswick, Kensington, along Piccadilly, through Bloomsbury, and after crossing the river Fleet, or Oldbourne, above the marshes by its mouth, and the Lea at Oldford, passed into Essex and on to the tribal entrenchment of Camulodunum at Lexden by Colchester.<sup>2</sup> The second track stretched northwards from the great ford, and through Ealing is now represented by a footway which once formed the boundary between Hanwell and Ealing. Passing through Drayton Green and down to the Brent, the route led by Horsadun, Sudbury, and Brockley Hills, on the last of which there was a tribal encampment, and thence passed into Herts to Verulamium, identified as the *oppidum Cassivellauni silvis paludibusque munitum* of Caesar, which in 54 B.C. he stormed and sacked, and afterwards the trackway continued on into the Midlands.<sup>3</sup> The third way led north-west by the Borderstone, or Boston Road, across Hanwell Heath and the Brent by Hanwell Church, thence through Hayes to the ford of the River Ux (now the Colne) at Uxbridge,

<sup>1</sup> St. George's Hill camp covered three and three-quarter acres.

<sup>2</sup> So named from the Celtic war-god Camulus.

<sup>3</sup> "Even a town among the Britons is nothing more than a thick wood fortified by a ditch and rampart to serve as a place of retreat against the incursions of their enemies," "De Bello Gallico," v, 20 and 21. "Forests are their cities for having enclosed an ample space with felled trees, here they make themselves huts and lodge their cattle, though not for long continuance," Herodian, "Mon. Hist. Brit.," vii.

and on into the Chiltern district, the tribal territory of the Ancalites, probably kindred to the Atrebates,<sup>1</sup> and so into Oxfordshire, the land, it is supposed, of the Duboni. From the ford of the Ux a cross-track seems to have led northwards above the river into Herts.<sup>2</sup> Two other ancient crossways may be distinguished. One from Essex crossing the Lea from Chingford and passing by the entrenchment at Bush Hill led by the Ridgeway through Enfield and South Mimms to Verulamium, a capital entrenchment of the Catuvellaunian tribe. The other led from the ford of the Thames at Thornea above mentioned, and crossing the eastern trackway by Hyde Park Corner, passed probably through Hampstead and Hendon to Brockley Hill, when it joined the northern trackway from the main ford at Brentford *via* Verulamium to the Midlands. There were undoubtedly many minor ways and paths in the County in early times which cannot now be traced with any certainty.

The British track or chariot-ways were not paved or gravelled, the upper surface after being removed was laid on either side, forming two continuous ridges.<sup>3</sup> Many green lanes and footpaths in Middlesex follow more or less the course of ancient British ways, which, where they were in accord with the survey for the Roman agrarian system, were straightened and enlarged, but the exigencies of the modern so-called development of the County, have caused most of them to be stopped up or diverted.

**Encampments.**—The great ford of the lower Thames from which three main trackways radiated through Middlesex<sup>4</sup> was guarded by an encampment. It stood on level ground at “New” or West Brentford, a quarter of a mile from the river, approached by an ascent which led through either “Catherine wheel” or “Boar’s Head” yard. In form it was circular with a diameter of about 170 yards, with entrances from the north and south. On the west the ditch and earthwork extend to within seventy yards of the Brent, while on the east the trackway, now the Boston Road, took its present semicircular course to avoid the camp. The defence works consisted of a ditch and bank, on the top of which stood a dense hedge of boughs and thorn bushes.<sup>5</sup> Within the fort are the rudely constructed huts of the

<sup>1</sup> “Hist. of Surrey,” Brayley.

<sup>2</sup> “Hist. of Uxbridge.”

<sup>3</sup> “Origines Celticae,” Guest.

<sup>4</sup> Even to this day six ways converge upon the ford, of these some are doubtless deviations from the main trackway, when it became foundrous, or when a more convenient way was opened after the primeval forest had been cleared away.

<sup>5</sup> On the map, kindly sent by Mr. Gordon Thomas, showing the mouth of the Brent before it was canalised towards the end of the eighteenth century, the western segment of the camp circle is clearly shown by the curve of the boundary of a small field. These two portions of a circle have a common centre, and so a diameter of about 170 yards is obtained. Somerset Road now runs approximately through the middle of the camp, which was situated in the 9½ acres of common of the manor of West Brentford enclosed and sold in 1664. The

tribesmen who guard the ford and portal into their country. Close to hand are some pits covered over with bushes and reeds, containing shucks of wheat and barley grown on the little clearings in the adjoining woodland. Further on stand the byres for the cattle and rough ponies, which graze on the heathland a mile higher up the trackway, or amongst the forest glades; and a small fold in which a few hares are kept as pets. By the entrance is a row of brightly painted war chariots, in which are placed weapons<sup>1</sup> ready for use, while some gaunt and savage dogs make their kennel beneath them.<sup>2</sup>

In times of peace this camp is used as a halting place by various bands of men conveying articles of trade and commerce along the adjoining trackways, to and from the coast and the interior of the country. In the coming Roman times a mansion, or inn, for the needs of wayfarers will arise below the camp when it ceases to be used, and on the Ham<sup>3</sup> between the fords some huts will appear by the side of the western road. Such were the beginnings of the county town of Middlesex two thousand years ago. But in those early British days little could be seen beyond the clearing around the enclosure. Across the brook the eastern trackway, threading its course to the territories of the Trinovantes, is soon lost to view. To the south on the half-cleared Ham lie a few coracles used in fishing, or as a means of ready escape down one or other of the mouths of the Brent should occasion need. On the Surrey side of the Thames the landing from the ford and the ways leading into Kent and Berks can just be seen over the top of the palisades on the bank of the river which guard the ford. At Bush Hill, Enfield, formerly hidden amongst forest growth, stands a circular encampment having a diameter of 150 yards, three-fourths of its earthworks still remain, and now enclose the house and lawns of Bush Hill Park, all of which are clearly shown on the twenty-five inch Ordnance map. It must have been built to guard the upper ford of the Lea (Chingford, the King's Ford) to which the Ridgeway led down.

present Butts and the adjoining open space probably represent part of the clearing below the camp. Here the market of Edward I was held, which space with the square around the court house alone survive out of the ancient common land. Many meanings are assigned for the origin of the word "Butts." Webster describes it as "a piece of land unploughed at the end of a field," and Ogilvie as "an irregular shaped piece of land and outlying piece left unploughed." Here, for centuries after the camp had been abandoned, the lines of its ditch and rampart would remain and present a rough and uneven surface over a portion of the common; just such a place as the ploughman would naturally avoid.

<sup>1</sup> "The chiefs were armed with large brightly-painted shields, plumed helmets and cuirasses of leather, bronze or chain mail. The natural weapons of offence were darts, pikes (sometimes with prongs, the origin of Britannia's trident) and broadswords; bows and arrows being more rarely used. The arms were often richly worked and ornamented, sometimes inlaid with enamel, sometimes decorated with studs of red coral from the Mediterranean. The chariots which formed so special a feature of British militarism were also of wood, painted like the shields and occasionally ironclad," "Roman Britain," Conybeare.

<sup>2</sup> "Dogs are used by the Celti for the purposes of war," Strabo, "Mon. Hist. Brit.," vi.

<sup>3</sup> Eventually waste of the manor consisting of two acres by the mouth of the Brent.



Judging by analogy, from Brentford and Bush Hill a protecting camp may have stood upon the solitary bluff, afterwards Londinium, to protect the lower passage of the Lea at Oldford, where the eastern trackway crossed that river, also by Hyde Park Corner to protect the crossing at Thornea, and possibly at Uxbridge or Hillingdon upon the high ground above the Colne, where the north-western trackway crossed it.

There was a British stronghold on Brockley Hill (Stanmore) before it became a Roman station, and to mark its situation an obelisk was set up on the north side of the hill a century back. It is now in a ruinous condition, and the inscriptions have vanished, but they have been preserved.<sup>1</sup> That on the front commenced with:

“Circiter haec loca stetit olim arx et oppidum.  
Natura atque opere egregie munitum, Suellanorum  
Qui duce Cassivellano Romanorum terga viderunt.”

Doubtless Horsadun Hill was also a stronghold on which “there are traces still of this hill having been rudely fortified at a very remote period, a few pieces of coarse pottery, hand made, as well as some flint flakes have been found near the top. There are two terraces, one above the other, facing the south, besides the broken ground at the top, which are probably artificially formed. No doubt such points of advantage continued in use after the Roman invasion, even into the Saxon period.”<sup>2</sup>

The faint lines of a large circular enclosure, though cut into two portions by the Great Northern Railway, have recently been discovered in Hadley Wood. It was most probably inhabited and used as a safe place into which cattle could be herded during the incursions of enemies.

Another antiquity is the *vallum*, or bank known as Grimm’s Dyke or Ditch, the course of which has been traced for ten miles from Pinner to South Mimms, along the uplands on the northern border of the County. The bank can be easily found about a half a mile north of Pinner Station on both sides of the London and North Western Railway, also at Harrow Weald Common whence it runs for a mile and a half in a south-westerly direction, and these two sections are sufficiently in evidence to be noted on the Ordnance Maps. At the latter place the ditch now averages twenty feet in width, and lies on the south side of a bank about forty feet wide at its base, and twelve in height, or about four feet above the ground level. Here it is supposed the work passed through an open stretch or natural pass in the primeval forest, and the probable use of this bank will be given in the Chapter on the Forests of Middlesex.

<sup>1</sup> “Twelve-Churches or Tracings along Watling Street,” Phillimore, 1860, Rivington.

<sup>2</sup> “Chronicles of Greenford Parva,” J. Allen Brown, 109.



## CHAPTER II

### THE CATUVELLAUNI

THE CATUVELLAUNI—GENERAL APPEARANCE AND DRESS—WARFARE AND ENCLOSURES—ARTS AND CRAFTS—COINAGE—AGRICULTURE—TRADE, ETC.—CARACTACUS

#### The Catuvellauni.

THE territory of this tribe appears to have embraced most of the northern watershed of the Thames, extending over what is now Middlesex, Essex, Hertfordshire, and into Buckinghamshire, Oxfordshire, Bedfordshire and Northamptonshire. "One of the most powerful States was that of the Catuvellauni, a people so brave, vigorous, and formidable, possessing some degree of civilization and culture."<sup>1</sup> Among the inscriptions discovered along the line of the Roman wall from the Tyne to the Solway Firth, there is one which shows that some portion of their territory, or as a whole, was designated a State or Canton—thus, *Civitate Catuvellaunorum*. Another indicates that they were a distinct tribe or people—"D. M. Barates or Palmyra to his freedwoman wife *natione Catuvellauna*." That this state and nation was not alone so described is proved by other Romano-British inscriptions, viz., *Civitas Dumnon*, and *ex decreto ordinis respublica civitate Silorum*. From this "it is clear that Britain was, like Gaul, organized in large cantons bearing the names of the old tribes. If this tribe on one of the remoter corners of the land had a regular canton and senate, and was organized into a *civitas*, we cannot doubt that all the regions of the south were governed by similar institutions."<sup>2</sup>

At the time of the invasion by Julius Caesar, 54 B.C., the capital entrenchment of the Catuvellauni was at Verulamium, adjoining St. Albans, and this was captured by the Roman Army. Nearly a century later Camulodunum, now Lexden by Colchester, had become the more important place, and this was taken by Claudius Caesar in A.D. 43. The change is shown by inscriptions on the coinage

<sup>1</sup> "Celtic Britain," Rhys; "Middlesex and Herts, Notes and Queries," iii, 115, Hales.

<sup>2</sup> "England before the Conquest," Oman. According to Ptolemy (A.D. 120) there were twenty-seven tribes in the island of Britain: Marcianus (A.D. 140) gives thirty-three nations, "Mon. Hist. Brit."

from "*Ver(ulamium)*" to "*Camu(lodunum)*," of which examples are given later on.

Their first ruler mentioned in history is Cassivellaunus who was defeated by Caesar when defending the great ford of the lower Thames in 54 B.C. He had just previous to that event overrun the territory of the Trinovantes (Essex) and slain their King Imanuentius, whose son Mandubratius fled to seek Caesar's protection. Tascovant, the next ruler, who died about A.D. 1 is supposed to have been the son or grandson of Cassivellaunus. Cunobeline,<sup>1</sup> son of Tascovant, held his chief enclosure at Camulodunum. Togodumnus, slain in battle with Plautius, and Caractacus,<sup>2</sup> sons of King Cunobeline, were the British leaders who so stoutly opposed the advance of the Roman General Plautius, in A.D. 43. A third son, Adminius, on being banished by his father, fled about A.D. 40 to the Emperor at Rome.

**Appearance.**—We can form some idea of their appearance and dress, for "the classical writers are agreed as to the physical characteristics of the Celts with whom they were acquainted, and described them as being tall, muscular men, with fair skin and blue eyes, and blonde hair tending towards red." On account of the climate the British were compelled to clothe their bodies with woollen garments, for they could both weave and spin, and the tartan with its variegated colours is described by Caesar's contemporary, Diodorus Siculus (44 B.C.) as their distinctive dress. Possibly the different tribes had their own particular or distinctive hues, somewhat like the Scottish clans. They also wore "breeches" (which appears to be a Celtic word) drawn tight over the ankles after the fashion still current among the agricultural labourers. These rude garments doubtless provoked laughter at civilized Rome, for Martial (A.D. 70) satirises a life, "Lydia as loose as the old breeches of a British pauper."<sup>3</sup> In winter the furs and skins of the numerous wild animals which then roamed over our island would provide warm covering. "The upper classes wore collars and bracelets of gold, and necklaces of amber and beads."<sup>4</sup>

**Warfare and Enclosures.**—The tribesmen when engaged in fighting, their constant occupation, would discard their heavier garments, and the skin where exposed was painted or tattooed to create, it is said, a terrifying appearance, but more likely to distinguish friend from foe; and if our ancient tribesmen tattooed their bodies it was only a custom which the sailor and soldier of to-day freely practice. "The British," says Herodian (A.D. 220), "drew figures of animals

<sup>1</sup> The Cymbeline of Shakespeare.

<sup>2</sup> As to his subsequent career see chap. vii.

<sup>3</sup> Martial, "Ep.," x, 22; "Mon. Hist. Brit.," xci.

<sup>4</sup> "Roman Britain," Conybeare.

upon their bodies," and it would be interesting to know whether a horse, wolf, stag, or other beast formed the tribal badge of the Catuvellauni. "They (the Britons) are a most warlike and sanguinary race, carrying only a small shield, a spear, and a sword."<sup>1</sup> Caesar expresses admiration at their military tactics with the "Esseda," a small two-wheeled war chariot drawn by a pair of ponies, the driver of which galloped up to try and break into the ranks of the enemy, while his companion apparently ran along the pole and leapt upon the foe, using the chariot as a means of retreat when necessary.<sup>2</sup> The pre-eminence of the Catuvellauni whether as a tribe or as a tribal confederacy, was mainly brought about by the possession of a territory to which, along its southern border, the Thames formed a strategic frontier, with only two entrances by the main fords at Brentford and Wallingford, where hostile tribes attacking from the South could be held in check. Through the first named ford, as already mentioned, ran the great trade route from the port at Dover to the Midlands, crossing Middlesex by Horsadun, Sudbury and Brockley Hills. In a subsequent chapter a full description is given of the forcing by Caesar of the passage of the Thames at Brentford, and of the remains of the extensive palisades protecting the great ford there, which were recently found embedded in the river and on its northern bank. This discovery settles the long vexed question as to the Thames ford crossed by Caesar.<sup>3</sup>

The dense forest of Middlesex, which stretched over the northern uplands of the County between the Colne and the Lea and beyond into Essex, formed a second line of defence to the southern territory of the Catuvellauni. At its eastern end the circular camp at Bush Hill guarded the upper Lea ford between Enfield and Chingford (Essex). A few miles to the west at Hadley lay a second enclosure, probably used mainly for the purpose of folding their cattle in the time of war, while still further westwards an important camp crowned the top of Brockley Hill—the Sulloniaca of Roman times—which has obliterated all traces of the earlier British works. But at Bush Hill Park three-fourths of the circular rampart of this camp of the Catuvellauni remain in fair condition, and gives a diameter of 150 yards. The earthwork may once have been from 8 to 10 feet in height, and when surmounted with the usual hedge of stakes and quickthorn must in those days have been a strong fort to storm in "hand to hand" warfare. At Brentford on the rising ground above the palisade work protecting the great ford over the lower Thames, formerly stood a circular entrenchment with a diameter of about 170 yards. Though its butts or earth works have long since been

<sup>1</sup> Herodian, "Mon. Hist. Brit.," lxiv.

<sup>2</sup> Caesar, "De Bello Gallico," iv, 33.

<sup>3</sup> A granite monument was erected in 1909 at Brentford Ferry to commemorate this battle and other historical events which have occurred around that spot.



levelled<sup>1</sup> their position can be traced from old maps, and from the bend which the ancient road takes in passing round the former lines. A public footpath also runs through it from north to south, but the site is now covered by modern houses. Similar enclosures probably once existed near Hyde Park Corner to guard the adjacent Thornea ford, and by Old Ford on the Lea before the Trinovantes were absorbed into the Catuvellaunian confederacy.

The British tribes seem to have been backward in the art of building, their houses being mere log cabins, "mean habitations constructed for the most part of reeds and wood."<sup>2</sup> "The number of inhabitants is very great, and they possess numerous buildings which generally resemble those of the Gauls. Their towns are protected with rampart and ditch situated amidst intricate woods, where they are wont to congregate to avoid the incursion of their foes. They keep much cattle."<sup>3</sup>

With materials growing ready to hand the Catuvellauni would have had no difficulty in protecting their enclosures by a formidable hedge, much of the same character as that erected by the Nervii in Belgic Gaul, which Caesar thus describes:

"To secure themselves against the inroads of the cavalry of the neighbouring nations, they had everywhere fortified the country with barricadoes of young trees, which being split in the middle and bent down on both sides the vacant spaces were so closely interwoven with brambles, thorns, and a multitude of boughs taken from the trees themselves, that they formed a wall which could neither be passed nor seen through."<sup>4</sup>

In Middlesex the British principally inhabited the Thames valley where have chiefly been found the various articles of Celtic manufacture next to be described. Here the soil is lighter than the heavy clays of the northern uplands of the County, on which in British times and for centuries afterwards flourished a vast forest. The numerous head of cattle possessed by the Catuvellauni would find grazing amid the glades of this forest, and there, hidden in its depths, enclosures would be made into which their herds would be collected in time of need.

**Arts and Crafts.**—Numerous relics relating to the daily life of the Celtic tribesmen have been discovered throughout Britain which, coupled with information from local sources, enables us to form some idea of the articles used by the Catuvellauni and found in Middlesex.

These articles may be thus classified:

I. **POTTERY.** Drinking and incense cups, cinerary urns, food vessels, also late wheelmade articles with graceful lines and kiln fired.

<sup>1</sup> They were situated in the 9½ acres of common of the manor of West Brentford enclosed and sold in 1664.

<sup>2</sup> Siculus, 44 B.C., "Mon. Hist. Brit.," ii.

<sup>3</sup> Caesar, "De Bello Gallico," v, 12 and 21.

<sup>4</sup> *Idem*, v, 11-17.

MIDDLESEX. Ornamented drinking cups from *Old England, Brentford*. Cinerary urns have been unearthed at *Acton, Ashford*, and *Hanwell*. A large number of urns as well as stone celts have been found in the gravel pits by the Boston Road, Hanwell, specimens of which have been preserved by Mr. W. Seward, the owner. A series of cinerary urns, dating from about 1,000 B.C. have been found on the Common between Ashford and Sunbury. About thirty burials were found in a space of 50 ft. by 20 ft. The specimens are at the British Museum. A cylindrical brick at *Great Stanmore*.

II. METAL WORK. Bronze, cast and wrought: Shields,<sup>1</sup> helmets, swords, sheathes, horse strappings, chariot fittings, celts, brooches, a chaldron riveted, and ornamental work for tankards and pails. Gold and silver<sup>2</sup>: Rings, armulets, neck torques, wire chains, chased mirrors, engraved metal, and figures of animals.

MIDDLESEX. In bronze: *Old England, Brentford*, shield with concentric ornament, swords, one in sheath, celts, ornamented axle cap with traces of enamel from a chariot, tankard lined with oak, and a water clock.<sup>3</sup> *Feltham*, double hook; *Hammersmith*, brooches, bowls, pins, and rings; *Hampton*, spearhead and dagger; *Hanwell*, a caster's hoard of 30 lb. of nearly pure copper, and an imperfect socketed and ringed celt; *Hounslow*, palstaves, celts, swords, and three small figures of boars; *Southall*, mould for casting celts, palstaves, and a ring; *Stanmore*, ornamental work; *Sunbury*, celts; *Teddington*, sword and sheath; *Twickenham*, sword and brooch and eight pieces of tin money; Chelsea, from the Thames, a shield, a beautiful piece of late Celtic work, and a spear head with fragment of shaft. In iron: *Brentford*, knives, sickles, spearheads, dagger in ornamented bronze sheath, etc. *Hammersmith*, a late Celtic sword and sheath.

III. ENAMEL WORK. This "had reached a high stage of indigenous development before its contact with Roman culture." Philostratus in his "Icomes," writing early in the third century, and doubtless referring to the British, states: "They say that the barbarians who live in the ocean pour their colours on heated brass, and that they adhere, become as hard as stone, and preserve the designs that are made upon them."<sup>4</sup> Specimens have been found, viz.: brooches set with red, blue, and yellow enamel, amber, and glass, an ornamental fly with blue enamel wings, shields, belt bosses, etc., set with coral and white shell.

MIDDLESEX, adjoining to, but in Catuvellaunian territory: *Datchet* (Bucks), bronze fibula set with amber and blue glass; *Witham* (Essex), bronze shield set with coral; *Welwyn* (Herts), various works of art.

<sup>1</sup> Caesar is said to have carried back from Britain a breast-plate adorned with precious pearls which he dedicated in the temple of Victory at Rome. "Political Hist. of Eng.," 22, Hodgkin.

<sup>2</sup> "Britain produces gold, silver, and other minerals," Tacitus, "Agricola," xii.

<sup>3</sup> See specimens in Brentford Museum.

<sup>4</sup> "Glass and Enamel," Waring and Franks.

**Coinage.**—In nearly every part of Britain where an inscribed coinage was current, one that was uninscribed had preceded it, and in most instances the use of the uninscribed currency was prior to the Roman invasion. The Catuvellauni and most other British tribes had an uninscribed coinage chiefly in gold, silver, and copper, commencing from about the year 200 to 150 B.C. Their coins were modelled after those in Gaul, which in turn had been copied from the gold stater of Philip of Macedon (359-66 B.C.). Thirteen kings or reguli in Britain possessed an inscribed coinage, and amongst those which have been found belonging to the Catuvellauni are:

|  |                    |
|--|--------------------|
| Gold Stater . . . . .                              | Inscribed Catti    |
| Gold Stater of Tascio Ricon . . . . .              | „ Tascio Ricon     |
| Silver coin of Tascio of Verulamium . . . . .      | „ Ver Tascia       |
| Copper coin of Tascio and Cunobeline . . . . .     | „ Tascio Cunobelin |
| Gold coin of Cunobeline of Camulodunum . . . . .   | „ Cun Camu         |
| Gold coin of Cunobeline of Camulodunum . . . . .   | „ Cunobelin Camu   |
| Silver coin of Cunobeline of Camulodunum . . . . . | „ Cuno Cam         |

In MIDDLESEX, uninscribed gold staters, have been found at Enfield Chase, Harlington, New Southgate, St. John's Wood. Inscribed "Cuno" in London, and "Tascio" in Victoria Park, Middlesex. Numerous coins of a similar character are doubtless to be found in private collections.<sup>1</sup>

**Agriculture,** etc.—Pytheas, who visited Britain in the fourth century B.C., describes the abundant wheatfields in the South, and that the corn was threshed in covered barns. The geographer Strabo (20 B.C.) refers *inter alia* to the export from Britain of corn, cattle, and skins. Caesar (54 B.C.), mentions the cornfields in Kent, and that corn was daily brought to his camp. Again, during his march northwards, *from* the Thames to Verulamium, that the inhabitants and cattle were driven from the fields. The geographer, Diodorus Siculus (44 B.C.), says that the corn was harvested by cutting off the ears and heaping them in pits, from which they daily draw those that are old and dress them. The historian (Tacitus) (A.D. 80) writes that the soil of Britain is fertile and bears good crops. Pliny the naturalist (A.D. 60) writes that the British used a wheeled plough and turned in marga (marl or chalk). Later on in the Romano-British period, Eumenius, the Imperial Panegyrist (A.D. 310) states that the country was remarkable for the richness of its corn crops and the number of its cattle.<sup>2</sup>

<sup>1</sup> Twenty-nine British coins, including the above, are well shown on a plate in "The British Numismatic Journal," i, 354. Cunobeline is said to have fought at Thornborough, three miles from Whaddon (Bucks), and near there, in Feb. 1849, at Little Harwood, on some land called Northbury, recently cleared and enclosed, the plough turned up about 420 British gold coins, of which 320 reached the hands of Mr. W. Selby-Lowndes, "Numismatic Chronicle," 1849, xii, 50.

<sup>2</sup> See generally "Mon. Hist. Brit.," and also "Origins of English History," Elton.



So in many parts of Middlesex, and more particularly to the south and west of the County, the Catuvellauni ploughed their patches of fertile soil for a crop of wheat, barley, millet, etc. They also used the axe, saw, billhook, and sickle.<sup>1</sup> In the next age, when the Romans planted their settlements, the natives received regular or measured plots of land in exchange for their scattered patches. The ponies and cattle, of which large numbers were captured in the Verulamium enclosure, found grazing in the fields and amidst the forest glades among the northern uplands of the County, also along the marshy fringes of the Brent, Colne, Lea, and Thames. The oxen were smaller than the present Alderney breed, and were known as the "Bos Longifrons." Their remains are met with throughout England, and locally by the Thames at Brentford, where they had probably been lost when endeavouring to cross at the ford, or slaughtered for the use of the adjoining camp.

Like other tribes the Catuvellauni kept sheep, goats, geese, and swine, the latter finding abundant pannage in the extensive forest of Middlesex. Beer brewed from barley was drunk, a liquor which "Dioscorides the physician, who lived shortly after the Claudian conquest of Britain, pronounced as headachy, unwholesome, and injurious to the nerves," and doubtless we should agree with him in this! Honey supplied the place of sugar, and so bees were kept, perhaps in hives of fine wicker work, for basket making was peculiarly a British industry. British baskets were exported to the Continent, and were highly prized in Rome among the precious goods of the wealthy.<sup>2</sup> This industry, perhaps a survival from these ancient days, thrived in the county town of Brentford until quite recent times.

**Trade.**—A considerable trade with the Continent must have been established long before 54 B.C., since Caesar mentions that he sent in all directions for those

<sup>1</sup> The soil of the county has been a fruitful one, thanks to the toil and labour of countless generations, beginning with the hardy Briton who commenced the work of winning the land from the clutches of the roots of forest trees. In modern times with improved appliances this preliminary expense may be put at £26 per acre (see cost of clearing Wychwood Forest in "The Making of the Land in Eng.," Pell. Journal Roy. Agric. Soc., 1899). Though a comparison cannot be drawn between the extent of arable land in Middlesex in the first and eighteenth centuries respectively, it may be mentioned that at the latter period it principally lay in the Elthorne, Isleworth, and Spelthorne Hundreds, and between the New River and Ermine Street in the Edmonton Hundred. Market gardens stretched between Brentford and Chelsea, and from the north of London to Islington and Hackney. In 1798 about 7,000 acres were annually cropped with wheat, and 3,800 with barley. In Norwood, Cranford, and Heston, much of the soil is of a highly productive loam, the latter place being celebrated for producing the finest wheat in the County. Camden in *M. Brit.* states that the wheat bred there made such delicate flour that our kings in ancient times made choice of it, "Agriculture of Middlesex," Middleton, 1798. The Middlesex area doubtless contributed its share of the corn exported in the fleet of 800 ships which went to and fro between Britain and the Rhine district to supply the armies of the Emperor Julian, A.D. 358. Zosimus, "Mon. Hist. Brit.," lxxvi.

<sup>2</sup> Martial, *Epig.* xiv, circa A.D. 70.



merchants who were constantly crossing over to Britain, in order to obtain information about the country he was preparing to invade. Subsequently he states that it produces tin and iron, while brass is an import.<sup>1</sup> "The discovery in 1886 at Aylesford of Celtic burial urns containing bronze objects of late Greek manufacture of the second century B.C., clearly indicates that there must have been a more intimate trade intercourse between Britain and the Southern parts of Europe than has hitherto been suspected." From Strabo (B.C. 20) we learn that corn, cattle, gold, silver, iron, skins, slaves, and dogs were exported from Britain. Of the latter there were two known breeds of hounds, one of the large size capable of bringing down an ox, the other small, but keen of scent and useful in the chase, a pursuit ever enjoyed by all races.

There is a breed of hounds for hunting staunch,  
Small in their size, but worthy of great praise,  
Which the wild tribes of painted Britons raise  
And call them Agassei: such their name  
Whose shape is like those worthless curs, who fawn  
For savoury scraps around their masters' board,  
Squat, lean and shaggy, and with blinking eyes,  
Their feet are armed with lacerating claws  
And many a poisonous tooth their jaws display,  
But for their scent this breed is mostly prized  
And skill in tracking where the pad has passed,  
Instinctive catching each aerial taint.<sup>2</sup>

Many kinds of wild beasts then infested the primeval forest and woodland wastes of Middlesex, and hunting in consequence was a twofold necessity to the Catuvellauni, viz., for food, and to keep down the numerous animals which would otherwise devastate their flocks and herds, and destroy the growing crops. For the latter purpose organized drives on a large scale would be arranged. The wild beasts' enclosures at Enfield and Ruislip, mentioned in Domesday, probably originated in Celtic times, being used to hold the captured animals. Such were the Catuvellauni, the ancient inhabitants of Middlesex, whose tribal entity lasted well into Roman times, and who, with other British tribes, formed the stock which, when blended with immigrants brought from all parts of the Roman Empire, and subsequently with Saxon, Danish, and Norman blood, has, after the course of centuries, produced the British race, which is known and respected throughout the world.

<sup>1</sup> Caesar, "De Bello Gallico," iv, 20, and v, 12.

<sup>2</sup> Oppian, A.D. 140, "Mon. Hist. Brit.," xciii. "The British dogs that break the necks of bulls," Claudianus, A.D. 400, *idem*, xeviii.

## CHAPTER III

### THE ANCIENT FORESTS OF MIDDLESEX

EXTENT OF THE NORTHERN FOREST—BRITISH WILD BEASTS DRIVE—ENFIELD CHASE—RIGHTS OF INHABITANTS—THE FOREST OF STAINES

#### Extent of Northern Forest

LITTLE now remains to mark the extent of the primeval forest which stretched from the Chilterns to the Lea and on into Essex. The portion of it which covered the northern slopes and the eastern border of Middlesex, is indicated in ten parishes by local place names, viz.—Herefelle and Enefelde—clearings where the trees have been felled: Harrow Weald, Wealdstone—"weald," a wood; Ruislip Wood, Northwood, Pinner Wood, Scratch Wood, a remnant (private) of original woodland: Highwood hill, Bushill: Hatch End, Colney hatch, Morey hatch—"hatch," entrance way to a wood. Kingsbury may have been so named from a royal hunting residence, then pleasantly situated on the outskirts of the forest, and on the banks of the once pellucid Brent. On the eastern side above the Lea, from Enfield Chase towards London, we find Grays' Wood, Tottenham Wood, Coldfall Wood, Wood Green, Hornsey bottom Wood, Bishop's Wood, and Kenwood. In A.D. 1086 the portion of this forest in Middlesex covered about 20,000 acres out of 33,600 of woodlands for the County.<sup>1</sup> From the earliest times it had been the home of numerous wild beasts, and in the Confessor's reign, deer, wild cattle, boars, and wolves were abundant there.<sup>2</sup> Later on in the twelfth century it was described as then containing good covert for bucks, does, and wild cattle.<sup>3</sup>

The sport of hunting, whether from necessity or from pleasure, has ever been a passion deeply ingrained in the human race, and the hardy Catuvellauni, within whose territory this forest lay, aided by swift and keen-scented hounds, possessed

<sup>1</sup> See *infra*, chap. on Domesday Land Measures.

<sup>2</sup> "A limbo Chiltreie usque Lundiniam fere" was one "opaca nemora. . . . Abundabant enim eo tempore per totam Chiltreie nemora spatiosa densa et copiosa in quibus habitabant diversa bestia, lupi apri tauri sylvestres et cervi abundabant. Neenon et qui plus nocuerunt prædones latrones vispillones exules et fugitivi," Matt. Paris, "Vitae Abbat Leofstano."

<sup>3</sup> "Survey of London," Fitz Stephen, *tempo* Henry II.

ample opportunities for following the chase in the vicinity of their settlements and camps at Bush Hill, Hadley, S. Mimms, Sulloniacæ (Brockley Hill), or Verulamium (St. Albans) their chief town, situated "amidst woods and marshes." The war lord Cassivellaunus, Tascio, Cunobeline, Caractacus, and other Catuvellaunian kings, hunted through the forest, and in Middlesex by virtue of their royal prerogative, claiming the right to hunt over the lands of their subjects.<sup>1</sup>

Hunting was also an act of necessity, since large numbers of cattle, sheep, and geese were kept, which required protection from wild animals, while venison formed a staple article of food. The woodlands which originally covered the face of the county afforded, until cleared away, abundant cover for its wild denizens, and to save the cultivated plots from depredation by deer, boars, and wild cattle, as well as sheep and poultry from wolves and foxes, large drives were organized to keep the numbers down and to force the preying beasts into parks, or into staked and hedged enclosures (*parcus, haiae, septum ferarum*), where they could be easily taken and killed.<sup>2</sup> The ancient parks at Enfield and Ruislip in Middlesex will be referred to presently, and there is little doubt that a somewhat similar but smaller enclosure once existed at Hesa (Hayes: *Haege*, a hedge), the original woodland character of which is shown by the names "Woodend" and "Norwood."<sup>3</sup>

In the following age the Romans, aided by British foresters, hunted in the vicinity of Enfield, Sulloniacæ, Breakspeare, and Staines,<sup>4</sup> or joined the Procurator Cynegarium (Master of the Hounds) and other Imperial officials at Colney Hatch (entrance to the forest of the Colonia), when the state huntsmen went through the forest and the wild pasturage (*silvae et pascua*) belonging to the Londinium Canton.

<sup>1</sup> "It is free for the king to hunt anywhere in his own country." Dimetian Code (S. Wales), B II, c. 13, quoted in "The Forest of Essex," Fisher.

<sup>2</sup> *Haiae* were parts of a wood or forest staked and paled off, into which wild animals could be driven for slaughter. They were the enclosures for catching roebucks. The duty of making these deerhays is often referred to, "Domesday Inquest," 167, Ballard. *Heimavis*, a sea hedge, was no doubt an enclosure for catching sea fish, "Domesday Book," De Gray Birch.

<sup>3</sup> The enclosure here may have stood in Hayes Park, near to Hayes End, where the Uxbridge Road takes a semi-circular course not far from Yedding. In Offa's charter of A.D. 790, land was granted "in lingua haese et geddingas," i.e., at the end of the hedge and by the sowing land. This appears to identify the spot.

<sup>4</sup> Under Roman law "wild beasts, birds and fishes, as soon as they are taken become the property of the captor, and it is immaterial whether they are taken upon his own ground or that of another. Of course anyone who enters upon the ground of another for the sake of hunting or fowling may be prohibited by the proprietor if he sees his intention of entering," "Inst. Justinian," l. ii, 1, 12.



## FORESTAL DEFINITIONS

A *forest* was a considerable stretch of woodland and pasturage within a defined area, over which the King enjoyed the sole right of hunting, and was subject to special laws of vert and venison. Royal beasts and game were: Wild boar, Red and Fallow deer, Roe deer, and Swans.

A *chase* differed from a forest, since it could be held by a subject and was under the common law of the land.

A *Park* was a fenced enclosure. Most forests contained at least one or two parks.

*Right of Warren* was the sole right of hunting over a particular place, or it signified the land over which such right existed,

*Beasts and Game of Warren* were: Fox, Hare, Rabbit, Pheasant, Partridge, and Woodcock.

The animals which were chased and hunted, though after very different fashions, were the deer, wolf, boar, hare, fox, and vermin, such as the wild cat, martin, badger, and otter.<sup>2</sup>

Now the Domesday Survey A.D. 1086, besides enabling us to estimate the amount of woodlands then contained in the various Middlesex manors within the forest area, records that at Enfield there was a park or enclosure (*parcus est ibi*),<sup>3</sup> and another at Ruislip for wild beasts (*parcus est ibi ferarum silvaticarum*). The establishment of these two enclosures dates back at the least to Romano-British times, for boars, stags, and roedeer were shut up by wealthy Roman gentlemen in parks, which in the Provinces and especially in Transalpine Gaul frequently comprehended a circuit of many miles of hill and swamp, glade and forest, which space was fenced in.<sup>4</sup> One theory is that Grimm's Dyke or Bank in Middlesex which has lately been traced more or less distinctly from Pinner by Ruislip to Gannick corner and to Potter's Bar adjoining Enfield Chase, was a fence used during wild beasts' drives to head and turn the animals so that they might be more readily forced into one or other of the enclosures situated at either end of the

<sup>1</sup> These definitions relate to the conditions of the chase in Norman times, though but little change had taken place in its practice from Saxon days. The earliest constitution of the forest in England are those of King Cnut (1017-1035) contained in thirty-four sections; but though ascribed to him they are rather a compilation in a later age of the traditional Anglo-Danish law, which again was founded upon ancient regulations or customs and constituted a code of oppressive rules to preserve the wild denizens of the wood. See the Capitularies of Dagobert in the seventh, and of Charlemagne in the ninth century, referred to in "The Forest of Essex," Fisher. Cf. "The Royal Forests of England," Cox.

<sup>2</sup> The wolf appears to have become extinct in England, *tempo*. Henry VII. It was killed in Scotland in 1743, and in Ireland in 1770. Under a Scotch act in 1457 the slayer of a wolf was entitled to a penny from every householder in the parish. If a man failed to appear three times a year at the district wolf drive, he forfeited a sheep to the sheriff.

<sup>3</sup> Paurch, Gaelic; Parwg, Celtic; Pearroc, Ang.-Saxon.

<sup>4</sup> "Agricultura (Leporaria)," Smith's Dict. of Antq.



line. The park at Ruislip, situated on the verge of the forest, together with its purlieu, extended to the Colne on the west, and down to the Pinn on the south. The enclosed part has, however, survived to the twentieth century, represented by a wood of 295 acres known as Ruislip *park*, and so described on modern maps. In the vicinity around lie Southcote, Kingscote, the cote at Breakspears, Woodcote Hill, and the hamlet of Eastcote, doubtless marking the sites of the cotes or cottages wherein dwelt the foresters and huntsmen who looked after the animals in the park, or tended the hawks and hounds in the mews and kennels.

**A Wild Beasts' Drive.**—We can picture in ancient times a meeting of Catuvellaunian head men who have come down in their *redae* (four-wheeled carriages) from Brockley Hill along the line of Grimm's Dyke, and from Cassiobury close by, to meet in a woodland glade of the forest, through which the wild beasts will be driven into the park at Ruislip. But let us first notice the two distinguished persons who, with a retinue, have arrived from Verulamium. The tall man of noble mien with fair moustache and long hair turning grey, now stepping out of the *essedra* (war chariot) in which he has left, his gleaming bronze helmet, shield, and sheaf of iron-tipped spears, has stopped to speak to some of his fellow-tribesmen. His tanned skin and hardy frame betokens the arduous campaign in Essex, just completed by the capture and death of his old enemy Imanuentius, king of the Trinovantes. He is the renowned Cassivelaunus, whom the south-eastern tribes have elected to command their levies, which will shortly be raised to oppose Caesar's threatened invasion of the country. Considering his rank, he is dressed devoid of splendour, deerskin mocassins with thongs confine the loose breeches around the ankles, a short-sleeved woollen vest, dyed with the tribal colour, reaches to the knee like a kilt, and is girt in by a belt relieved with disks of gold engraved and wrought with corals, while from it hangs a short bronze sword and sheath inlaid with bright enamels. He will shortly meet the allied chieftains where the three trackways meet by the main ford of the Thames, and inspect the repair of the works defending the ford.

The lady with him is his daughter, the Princess Helena, who, leaving for once to others the care of her wounded tribesmen, and the wretched captives soon to be sold as slaves to merchants from across the seas, on this bright spring morning has ridden over to the last drive of the season,<sup>1</sup> for she dearly loves the chase, being a fearless rider and skilful with the bow. This golden-haired British princess, with lovely face and delicate complexion, is both as kind and good as she is fair, and is adored by young and old throughout the tribe. Fine of stature and graceful in form, she sits her horse with inborn grace, and whilst gaily

<sup>1</sup> The fence or forbidden month was in Norman times fifteen days before and after St. Johns' or Midsummer day.

talking to friends around her, makes a charming central figure in this ancient woodland scene. The wealth of hair, through which an ermine's plume deftly thrust and held by a pin of bronze, is confined above the brow by a gold circlet, from whence the breeze has loosened a few tresses, sweet in their waywardness. Above a garment of fine white wool fitting an exquisite form, a richly trimmed blue cloak, fastened by gold fibulae, falls to the beaver skin upon the horse's back, from whence a short white skirt, hatched with a Catuvellaunian colour, reaches the embroidered mocassins. A twisted torque of gold, suspending a little model of an animal, and light armlets, adorn the shapely neck and arms, while across the graceful shoulders a baldric with bow and arrows hangs daintily behind.

Leaving her horse, and accompanied by a trusty forester, she mounts an empty waggon (*carpentum*) hidden behind a tree by the side of the straggling glade, from either end of which two long lines of hedge, made with stout stakes and interlaced with boughs and undergrowth, winding for many a mile along the upland ridges and lowland dells gradually converge upon an opening into the park.<sup>1</sup> From her place of vantage Helena will see the driven animals turned by the long line of bank and hedge now known as Grimm's dyke,<sup>2</sup> blindly rushing towards these outstretched leafy arms, and with unerring aim will add to the spoil which the creaking wagon will take back. At the blast from a long bronze carnyx, the sportsmen scatter to their places, and with weapons ready, stand concealed behind leafy screens erected at intervals along the edge of the open glade. Close by are their attendants, some with spare spears and arrows, while others hold in the big hounds<sup>3</sup> which will follow and bring down the wounded animals which may turn and break away. A mile away the beaters in crescent

<sup>1</sup> "Princess. Then forester, my friend, where is the bush  
That we must stand and play the murderer in?"

Forester. Hereby upon the edge of yonder coppice  
A stand where you may make the fairest shoot."

—"Love's Labour's Lost," IV, i, 7.

"Under this thick grown brake we'll shroud ourselves  
For through the launde anon the deer will come  
And in this covert we will make our stand  
Culling the principal of all the deer."

—"3 Henry VI," III, i, 14.

<sup>2</sup> "The Beothucks (the original inhabitants of Newfoundland, now extinct) used to construct long fences in the neighbourhood of lakes, and when a certain number of caribou had entered the lane on their southern movement, the upper end was closed and the deer were forced into the lake, where the natives speared and shot them with arrows. The same practice is employed by the Red Indians of North-West Keewatin and the Yellow Knives of Coronation Gulf to-day," J. G. Millais, "The Times," 29 Mar., 1919.

<sup>3</sup> "Magnaue taurorum fracturae colla Britannae." Claudian, "Mon. Hist. Brit.," xeviii.

line are gradually closing in, and the merry whimper of the little Agasseus hounds<sup>1</sup> can now be faintly heard on the breeze as they busily work through the dense underwood and assist to push forward the increasing throng of deer, wild cattle, boars, wolves, etc., till at last the frightened beasts break from covert and dart across the open glade, there to afford a ready mark for the weapons of the hidden hunters. Those which escape them race blindly on between the hedges of the treacherous lane, and swell the panting mass struggling at its narrow end to pass into the park beyond—a veritable trap from which there is no escape.

Again, in a later age, when this paled enclosure contains a goodly herd of deer, the well-appointed Roman official will come over with his friends from Londinium and the neighbouring country villas at Sullonicae for a day's hunting in the park. The freedmen and slaves stand around, waiting to see the huntsmen lay on the hounds, and the deer driven into the toils. Afterwards they will help to carry home the venison and spread the tables for the feast.<sup>2</sup>

The Middlesex woods which Matthew Paris states extended *ad Lundiniam fere*, and abounded with wolves, boars, wild cattle, and deer, had no rest when the Saxon ruled the land, for the chase was the engrossing pastime of the nobility, who “think it the highest of worldly felicity to spend their whole time in hunting. They pursue the wild beasts with greater fury than the enemies of their country: by constantly following this way of life they become as savage nearly as the beasts they hunt.” The chief part of a young Saxon nobleman's education was hawking, hunting, running, casting of dafts, etc.<sup>3</sup> King Alfred constantly practised hunting of every kind himself, training his falconers and hound keepers. Peerless was he in the hunting field, ever the first and ever the luckiest.<sup>4</sup> Harold Harefoot was known as a swift-footed hunter. Edward the Confessor delighted to follow a pack of hounds, and cheer them with his voice,<sup>5</sup> and his successor, Harold, is represented upon the Bayeux tapestry with hawk and hounds.

**Enfield Chase.**—Little or nothing is known of the early history of the enclosure or park at Enfield, which seems to have lain within the “*parcus extrinsecus*,” or the great or outer park, at the eastern end of the forest, which, in the time of Edward II, became known as the Chase.<sup>6</sup> It is said that this chase was originally bounded on the east by the River Lea, which divided it from Epping forest, while in other directions it extended over and beyond the Manor of Enfield. However, in the course of centuries the area of the chase became reduced;

<sup>1</sup> For Oppian's description, *vide supra*, chap. ii, on The Catuvellauni.

<sup>2</sup> “The existence of huntsmen—as inscriptions tell—reminds us that not only was the chase then as now popular amongst the squirearchy, but that there was a far larger scope for its exercise,” “Roman Britain,” Conybeare.

<sup>3</sup> “Sports and Pastimes,” Strutt.

<sup>5</sup> William of Malmesbury.

<sup>4</sup> “Alfred in the Chroniclers,” Conybeare.

<sup>6</sup> C. L. 19 Ed. II, m. 16.



500 acres which lay in Herts were enclosed within Theobald's Park by James I, and when the end came in 1779, it measured four and a half miles from Parsons Lane on the east to Gannick Corner on the west, and half a mile less from Southgate to Cattlegate on the north, and contained 8,349 acres.

This Chase, with its metes and bounds, doubtless existent as such in Roman days, was subsequently enjoyed by the Saxon Abbots of St. Albans, amongst whose earliest possessions were Enfield, Edmonton, and Stanmore, while later on they acquired the lands which stretched from Barnet to London<sup>1</sup> and in addition on the north, in Herts, the neighbouring manors of Northaw, Ridge, Southaw (Chipping and East Barnet), Elstree, Aldenham, Redburn, etc. Within this splendid stretch of country the lordly abbots had every facility for the enjoyment of the chase. Wulsig, the third abbot, hunted in his silken vestments,<sup>2</sup> and must have presented a strange spectacle when galloping through the woods with his canonicals streaming in the wind. His successor, Wulnoth, was also a sportsman, and, let us hope, hunted in better style; it is recorded of him that he kept hawks, hounds and huntsmen.<sup>3</sup>

When the hunt was fixed at some distance from the abbey a temporary hunting lodge would, as then usual, be erected for the accommodation of the Abbot and his friends<sup>4</sup> and in due course permanent accommodation near the deer park would be built. But this excellent hunting district was destined to fall into lay hands, and before the close of the eleventh century, the Abbots of St. Albans had lost all their Middlesex manors.<sup>5</sup>

**Rights of the Inhabitants.**—The charters of the early Norman kings to the citizens of London show that they had enjoyed rights of the chase from

<sup>1</sup> Stanmore, Enfield, and Edmonton, which latter included S. Mimms and Hadley, were gifts to the abbey by King Offa (755-94) though subsequently lost or exchanged. Friern Barnet, Finchley, and Hornsey were later acquisitions, since Matthew Paris states that the Conqueror seized the abbey lands lying south of Barnet to London Stone.

<sup>2</sup> "*Gesta Abbatum Monas. S. Alban.*"

<sup>3</sup> *Idem.*

<sup>4</sup> In the Boldon Book is a description of a hunting lodge which the villani of the Bishop of Durham had to provide for the great hunt of that prelate. "The hall was to be constructed in the forest and to be sixty feet long by sixteen feet wide between the posts, and to have a chamber, a steward's room, and a private. A chapel forty by fifteen feet was also set up." A parallel to this lodge is found in the description of the provision made for a Welsh king when travelling through his dominions. "The house consisted of poles of newly felled timber placed in rows of three, and fastened to the roof-tree; low walls of stakes and wattle shut in the sides. The roof was covered with branches and thatch, and behind the poles were placed beds of rushes. The fire was in the middle between the central parts." From "*Life in Early Britain*," Windle.

In 1529 "the Earl of Athol made a palace for James V for the time of their hunting which was built in a meadow. The walls were of green timber woven with bark and built in four quarters. At this time there was slain three score of hart and hind with other small beasts, such as roe, wolf, fox and wild cat." "*Forest of Athol*," Lindsay of Pitcottie.

<sup>5</sup> "*Hist. Herts.*" ii, Chauncey, and "*Gesta Abbat. Monas. S. Alban.*"



ancient times over Middlesex and the surrounding district. These rights appear to have originated at the time of the Roman power, when the duties of various officials administering the government in Britain—a domain of the Emperor, and not a Senatorial province—passed into the hands of the Senates of the States or Cantons of the Country. Amongst the offices doubtless so transferred was that of The Master of the Imperial Hunting Establishment (*Procurator cynegii in Britannis*),<sup>1</sup> an official who was probably stationed at *Londinium* and kept the stables and the kennels on the verge of the Forest of Middlesex, near its parks at Enfield and Harefield.

During the interregnum which lasted for nearly two centuries, the Romano-British townsmen of *Londinium* who had any sporting instinct would continue the former Imperial rights and privileges over the *territoria* of the Canton, but when the East Saxon became supreme over Middlesex, this franchise of the townsmen, gained by heritage and long use, must have clashed with those of *silva regis* in the East Saxon kingdom, and with the rights of Warren which pertained to the lordships of the many manors into which the County area had by then become divided. FitzStephen, writing *tempo* Henry II, says “the citizens have liberty of hunting in Middlesex, Herts, all Chiltron and in Kent to the waters of the Cray,” which, as Dr. Green remarks, seems to show that the territory of the *Londinium* Canton south of the Thames extended to the Cray, as this was the bounds of the citizens’ right of the chase in the Middle Ages—which may have been drawn from the rights of the Roman burghers.<sup>2</sup> Chiltron was the wild and wooded stretch of land north-west of Middlesex (now the Chiltern Hills of South Buckinghamshire) which once formed the boundary (*ager arcifinius*) of the *Londinium* Canton.

But the respective rights of manor lord and citizens were ruthlessly swept away by the Conqueror, and large tracts of Middlesex forest and cultivated land turned into royal preserves; for the St. Albans possessions had been forfeited as well as those of Harold’s thanes, most of whom had either fallen at Hastings, or had fled away to escape the clutches of the Norman king.<sup>3</sup> The afforestation of

<sup>1</sup> “Notitia,” Mon. Hist. Brit., xxiii.

<sup>2</sup> “The Making of England.”

<sup>3</sup> As to the ancient law of the chase, Blackstone says: “Among the Saxons there were woody and desert tracts called the forests, held to belong to the crown, and these were filled with great plenty of game, which our royal sportsmen reserved for their own diversion on pain of pecuniary forfeiture for such as interfered with their sovereign. But every freeholder had the full liberty of sporting upon his own territories provided he abstained from the king’s forests, as is fully explained in the laws of Cnut. Afterwards, upon the conquest, the Norman race of sovereigns exceeded even their predecessors in the eager enjoyment of this branch of the prerogative: for not only did they extend the limits of the ancient forests by encroachments upon the lands, and lay out new ones at their pleasure without regard to private property, but they established a particular system of forest law under colour of which the most horrid tyrannies and oppressions were exercised.” Stephens, Coms. I. “William

the Abbey lands in Middlesex and Herts soon followed upon the flight of Fritheric to the Ely Marshes, for the king sequestered the abbey property and enjoyed its revenues<sup>1</sup> until Paul was appointed to the Abbacy in A.D. 1077; and so the broad stretch of country from Hornsey to St. Alban's was made a royal forest at the will of a powerful autocrat.

But this arbitrary action on the part of the Conqueror soon caused a discontent to arise in the county which could not be ignored, and so we find his son, Henry I (1100-35) restoring by charter the right of the citizens of London in "their chaces to hunt as well and fully as their ancestors have had, that is to say, in the Chiltern and in Middlesex and Surrey."<sup>2</sup>

Later on Henry II, Richard I, John, and Henry III, confirmed this right of the citizens to have hunting wheresoever they had it in the time of Henry I. Either the first Henry and his successors did not allow in practice what they had granted on parchment, or what most likely happened was, that they allowed the citizens to resume their rights of warren within the limits of the old Roman territory of London, excepting in Essex and those places where the royal preserves of old had been established, where naturally the best sport was to be obtained.<sup>3</sup> But what with the change in ownership of the land consequent upon the upheaval at the Conquest, and with the extension, if not the creation, of two royal forests

loved the red deer as though he had been their father," and is said to have held in England by right of conquest, upwards of sixty forests, chases, and parks.

<sup>1</sup> Travellers and merchants going beyond the seas had been accustomed to make a pilgrimage to the popular shrine of St. Albanus, but owing to the condition of the road and country their lives and offerings were endangered. In Saxon days the Edgware Road was infested with outlaws and wild beasts almost to London. Abbot Leofstan shrewdly seeing that his revenue might thereby be diminished, restored the Edgware Road and engaged a Knight named Thornotho and his men to defend this highway. His successor, Fretheric, vested its preservation in Theobald, Abbot of Westminster in Middlesex, who had Norman friends and good interest at Court. The latter deputed this office to some of his military retainers, and gave all possible trouble and vexation to the monks at St. Albans, for there was no love lost between these rival monasteries, of which Westminster did not take the precedence. See generally Matthew Paris, Burton's "Itinerary," Daniel's "History of England," Newcomb's "History of St. Albans," and Lloyd's "History of Highgate."

<sup>2</sup> When bestowing a forfeited manor within the Middlesex "forest" upon an adherent, William undoubtedly reserved his forest rights, hence the trouble with the citizens of London. "All lands within a king's forest were never entirely demesne; there were various woods which were private property, but they were subject to general forest jurisdiction, such as the free ingress and egress of the king's deer. Nor could the owners without the king's license, do anything, such as cleaning away growing timber for cultivation, building houses or sheds, establishing forges or burning charcoal, that might be held to do damage or cause annoyance to the deer."

<sup>3</sup> Historical charters of the City of London, 1884. The traditional right of the citizens of London to hunt in Epping Forest was claimed before the Epping Forest Commissioners in 1871, "but no documentary evidence could be found to support it." The omission of Essex from the early Norman charters (*infra*) points to the loss of the citizens' rights, when by the frith of A.D. 886 the lands east of the Lea and Watling Street went to Guthrum and the Dane Law, while London, Middlesex, etc., were placed under King Alfred's rule.

(Middlesex and Staines), with new boundary lines within the county, the bewildered inhabitants would hardly know where they could freely hunt without molestation. On this Dr. Stubbs observes: "The vast extension of the forests with their uncertain boundaries and indefinite privileges had brought their peculiar jurisdictions and minute oppressions into every neighbourhood, and imposed on all the inhabitants of the counties in which they lay burdensome duties and liabilities . . . the snares of legal chicanery, the risk of offence done in ignorance lay in double weight on all."

But the irritation of the people in Middlesex, as elsewhere, at these oppressive forest laws, was becoming more and more pronounced and could no longer be disregarded, and one of the early acts of Henry III (1216-72) was to grant, with the assent of his Parliament, the great Charter of the Forests, which, in brief, was to this effect: "That all forests which King Henry II afforested shall be viewed, and if he made a forest more than his own demesne it shall be disafforested. That all woods made forests by King Richard or King John shall be disafforested unless it be royal demesne. That no man shall lose life or limb for killing the king's deer, but may be fined or imprisoned, and that every freeman might keep hawks and agist his cattle in his own wood within a royal forest, and drive his swine through royal demesne forest."<sup>1</sup>

Camden observes that under this statute the forest of Middlesex was partially disafforested, especially in those parts adjacent to London. It "gave the citizens an opportunity of purchasing land and building thereon, whereby the suburbs of the city were greatly increased."<sup>2</sup> This may relate to Tottenham in particular, which, as Lord Coleraine states in his history of that manor, "did of old belong to the Court, and was a pleasant place where the king's hawks were kept . . . there was abundance of game about it for hawking and hunting."<sup>3</sup>

The neighbouring manor of Enfield with its Chase, which had previously belonged to Asgar, Master of the Horse and Constable of the Army of Edward the Confessor, was at the Domesday Survey (1086) in the hands of Geoffrey de Manneville, whose descendant, William de Mandeville, Earl of Essex, granted to the priory of St. John of Jerusalem five bucks and five does out of the chase.<sup>4</sup>

<sup>1</sup> 9 Henry III. Ruffhead's edn. Forest law had been previously dealt with in clause XI. of the Assize of Woodstock, 1154, and remedies for forest abuse were wrung from King John in Magna Carta (sec. 46) in 1215. This charter was reissued in 1217, but the forest clauses were renewed and expanded under the charter of the Forests in 1225.

<sup>2</sup> "Hist. of London," Maitland.

<sup>3</sup> This manor, over most of which the forest originally extended, was taken from Gospatrick, the Earl of Northumberland, and given to Wallef, son of the Earl Siward. Wallef, in 1069, married Judith, daughter of Odo, and niece of the Conqueror. Wallef was afterwards beheaded, and his widow, Judith, became possessed of the manor at the Domesday Survey. There is a tradition that Odo had a hunting lodge in the adjoining manor of Hornsey which had been taken from St. Albans.

<sup>4</sup> C.L. 18 Ed. II, m. 34.



The subsequent history of this Chase, though not within the scope of these "antiquities," may be briefly mentioned. The manor subsequently passed to the De Bohuns, and on the death of Humphrey de Bohun, was apportioned to his daughter Mary, wife of Henry, Duke of Lancaster, afterwards Henry IV (1399-1413), and so it was merged in the estate of the Crown as parcel of the Duchy of Lancaster.

Enfield Chase was eventually placed under the care of the Chancellor of the Duchy, with a master of the game, a forester, range-keeper, and steward; but these offices usually vested in one individual, either a nobleman or some person of position. The under-officers were those of woodward, bailiff, and verderers, annually chosen by the King's Court of the Manor of Enfield. On Gunter and Rolfe's map of the Chase, prepared in 1658 for the Commonwealth, seven entrances, or gates, are shown, viz., Lift, Hooke, Cattle or Morey hatch, Park, Winsmore, South, and Bourne. Within the Chase, as at Ruislip, were cotes or lodges, called respectively East, West, and South Bailey.<sup>1</sup> The Chase was dis-chased by Parliament<sup>2</sup> from 1 January 1779, and the deer, which were very numerous, were taken to the park of the Earl of Bute at Luton, Beds, while the land was allotted between Enfield and the adjoining parishes.<sup>3</sup>

**The Forest of Staines.**—A brief reference can only be made to this "forest," a forest in a legal sense, which lay along the south-western border of the county, and wholly within it. "From Staines to Brentford," says Camden, "all that which lies between the high road along Hounslow and the Thames, was called the Forest or Warren of Staines till Henry III disafforested it." This royal forest, therefore, extended into fourteen parishes, and covered some 23,000 acres of land, and included Sunbury Heath and a large portion of the great heath of Hounslow. Being situated in the Thames Valley the land was of a flat and uninteresting character, and if less timbered and picturesque than its northern neighbour twelve miles distant, the soil had been more extensively cultivated. Of this we obtain some evidence from the absence of place names of a forestal origin within the area of the Staines Forest; also by comparison of the acreage and annual value of manors in the two forests as given in Domesday: e.g., Isleworth £80, *Tempo* King Edward, with 9,087 acres, and Enfield £50

<sup>1</sup> Evelyn in his diary, June 2nd, 1696, writes regarding Enfield Chase: "That which I most wondered at was that in the compass of 25 miles, yet within 14 of London, there is not a house, church, barn or building, besides three lodges. At one of these there are three great ponds and some few enclosures, the rest is a solitary desert yet stored with not less than 3,000 deer."

Stow in his "Survey of London" mentions that in the reign of Hen. VI (1422-61) the aldermen and sheriffs of London went on May day to the Bishop of London's wood in the parish of Stebenheath (Stepney in Middx.).

<sup>2</sup> 17 Geo. III, c. 17.

<sup>3</sup> "Hist. of Enfield," Robinson.



with 14,706. The enclosure within the forest, like those at Enfield and Ruislip above mentioned, was probably what is now known as Littleton Warren. As Staines Forest was not disafforested under the general Statute of Forests, it would seem that the order, turning this district into a royal preserve, was made by one of the earlier Norman kings at some period anterior to the reign of Henry II (1154). The effect of this arbitrary decree upon a cultivated district is well pictured by John of Salisbury, writing in the twelfth century: "Husbandmen with their harmless herds and flocks are driven from their well cultivated fields, their meadows and their pastures, that wild beasts may range in them without interruption."

However, the long desired relief came by a special charter of Henry III in 1227, which will fittingly conclude this chapter:

"Know ye that we have granted and by this charter confirmed for us and our Heirs to our Archbishop, etc., and to all the County of Middlesex. That all the *Warren of Staines* with the appurtenances be unwarrened and disafforested for ever, so that all they aforesaid and their heirs and successors may have all benefit and liberty of warren and forest in the aforesaid warren, wherein they may till or plough all their lands and cut all their woods and dispose of the same at their will without the view or contradiction of our Warreners or Foresters and all their ministers, And within the which no warrener or forester or Justice of our Forest shall, or may anything meddle with their lands or woods—neither with their herbage or hunting or corn—neither by any summons or distress shall cause them, their heirs or successors, to come before our Justices of the forest or warreners by occasion of the lands and tenement situate in those parts where the said warren was wont to be. But that they and their heirs and successors and their lands and tenements contained in those parts be quit and free of all exactions, demands and attachments, and of all things which belong to warrens or forests.

"Wherefore we will and steadfastly command that all they aforesaid holding lands and tenements within the said parts, and their heirs and successors, for ever, have the aforesaid liberties and freedoms, and that their lands and tenements aforesaid be unwarrened and disafforested for ever, and quit from all things which either to warren or forest warreners or foresters pertain as is aforesaid.

"These being witness,

"Hubert de Burgh, Earl of Kent, Justice of England and others.

"Given by the hand of the Reverend father Ralph, Bishop of Chester, our Chancellor at Woodstock, 18th Aug: XI of our reign (A.D. 1227)."

## CHAPTER IV

### THE COWAY STAKES

THE COWAY STAKES—THE THORNEA FORD—CHELSEA REACH

#### The Coway Stakes.

COWEY, or Coway Sale, consisting of eighteen acres, part of the parish of Shepperton, Middlesex, lies on the south side of the Thames, and with forty other acres in the parish was subject to the right of cow pasture. This area was divided into 118 portions, called "Cowfarrens," a Wessex term for half an acre, each of which enabled the owner to keep one cow upon it.<sup>1</sup> Now at some date subsequent to the formation of parishes, which were gradually becoming defined about the tenth century—and "it seems pretty clear and certain that the boundaries of parishes were originally ascertained by those of manors"<sup>2</sup>—the Thames, still in a primeval condition, appears in Saxon times to have changed its course in several places through the flat meads below Staines. For in addition to Coway Sale, three more acres of Shepperton parish, and twenty-two acres of the parish of Laleham, by Laleham Burhway,<sup>3</sup> lie on the Surrey, or south side, of the river, while fourteen acres of Chertsey, and eight acres of Walton parishes, are to be found on the northern or Middlesex side. Otherwise the Thames formed the natural boundary line between the two counties and their respective parishes, along its banks from Staines to London.<sup>4</sup> But as regards Coway we fortunately can glean some information regarding its severance from the rest of the manor and parish of Shepperton.

A wooden bridge between Shepperton and Walton was first built in 1770 under an Act of Geo. II, and the approach thereto at the Surrey end crossed Coway.<sup>5</sup> One of the piers of this bridge seems to have been subsequently "blown

<sup>1</sup> Lyson's "Middlesex Parishes"; J. J. Freeman, Esq. of Halliford, in a letter to the writer mentions: "At Farnham it is said that each farren contained an acre, on which one horse, two cows, or three pigs may be turned out."

<sup>2</sup> "Stephen's Coms."

<sup>3</sup> The Burhway contained 200 acres of cowfarrens (Lyson) but it belonged to Chertsey.

<sup>4</sup> Above Staines Bridge a small piece of Wyrardisbury, Bucks, lies on the Surrey side, also a few acres belonging to Staines parish.

<sup>5</sup> R. v. Middlesex. Maidstone Ass., 1877.

up" by a heavy flood, and to guard against any recurrence of this, Manning in his "History of Surrey," states that "five arches were turned on the Surrey side, and in high floods the water now runs through them. *Heretofore the river ran between its present course and Oatlands Pale, leaving the land now called Cowey, or Coway Sale, on the Middlesex side.* There is now some water under Oatlands Pale which is called the "Old Water" or the "Old Thames." If so, it ran across where the five arches now are, and under Lord Tankerville's wall, which was Mr. Dicker's, the builder of the bridge."<sup>1</sup>

It therefore appears that the stakes which formerly lay across the new channel terminated at the north-western end of Coway Sale, about a quarter of a mile distant from and to the north of the old channel, consequently, prior to the river altering its course here, and to the formation of Saxon manors and their boundaries, the site of the stakes here did not then form part of the bed of the river, and *a fortiori* in British days when Caesar forced the passage of the Thames. Further, the two lines of stakes lay not only at right angles to, but at some distance from the old river, and even if then existing, could not have been those referred to by Caesar when he says "the bank was also defended by sharpened stakes fixed outwards," for this necessarily implies that they were driven in not at right angles, but parallel to the course of the stream;<sup>2</sup> and, lastly, we have no evidence that the old Thames channel was ever fordable here.

We may, therefore, thus sum up the situation:

(a) In British days the course of the Thames below the mouths of the rivers Bourne and Wey, lay past the pale of Oatlands Camp and the present southern approach to Walton Bridge, and on the Ordnance Map it is marked "Old Thames."

(b) By the tenth century the Thames had cut through the flat and low lying land a new channel, about a quarter of a mile to the north, which was adopted as a division between Middlesex and Surrey. This is shown by a dotted line on the map.

(c) At a subsequent date there was a further change in the course of the Thames, and four small portions of the two already defined county boundaries became severed, and to this day remain detached on the opposite bank of the river.

For what purpose and when were the stakes at Coway driven across the later channel of the Thames? The explanation seems to be, that these two rows of ironshod posts of Durmast Oak (*sessile flora*) were placed there to form either a passage way nine feet wide through which cattle could cross the river to the

<sup>1</sup> "Hist. of Surrey," Manning, 1809, ii, p. 758.

<sup>2</sup> See chap. v, on The Great Ford of the Thames, as to the lines of stakes found in the Brentford reach.

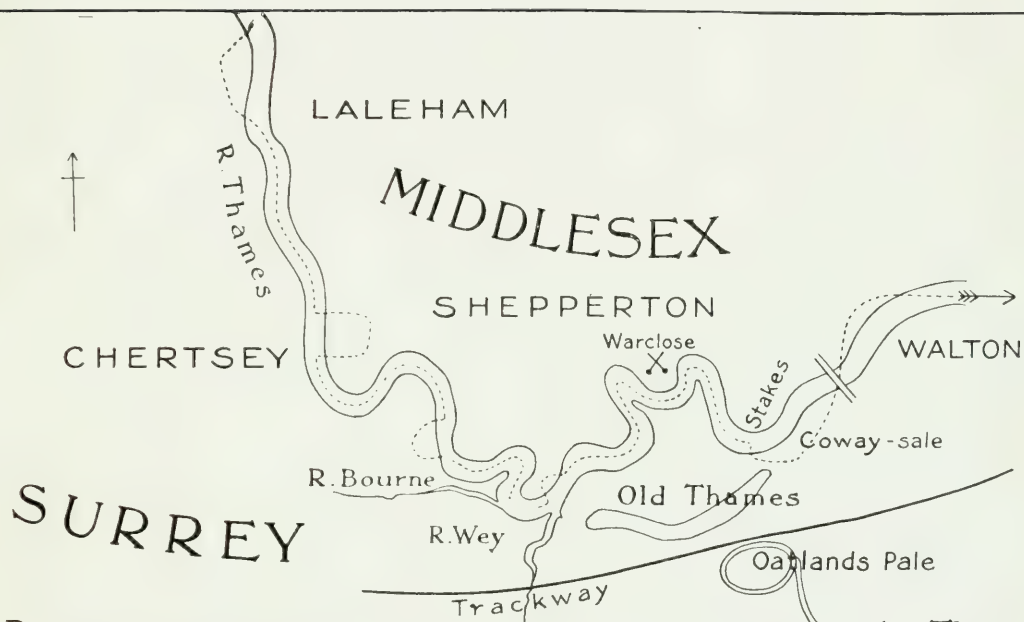


Diagram showing changes in the course of the Thames  
around Coway.

County Boundaries-----





farrens in safety, or formed the supports for a slight bridge for the same purpose, necessitated by the change in the course of the river. The Abbot of Westminster had become a considerable landowner in this portion of the County by the end of the eighth century,<sup>1</sup> and later on he had acquired Hanworth, Littleton, Sunbury, and Shepperton. It therefore seems most probable that the few stumps which have been extracted from the bed of the river across to Coway were merely the remains of a cattle way, or a bridge constructed by an Abbot of Westminster so that his villani at Shepperton should possess convenient access to the portion of their ancient and common pasturage which the stream had severed from the body of the vill.

As to the origin of the word "Coway"—and it is so spelt in Gibson's "Camden," and Lyson's "Middlesex Parishes," etc.—from the evidence we have of the particular keeping of cows in this neighbourhood, it is without much doubt a corruption from "Cow-way," or the way to the cow pastures. This is not so far fetched as it may appear, for in modern maps we find on the north-east side of the county "Cattlegate" and "Catter" or "Cattle Hatch lane" in connection with the park or chase at Enfield: also "Cow Lane" at Greenford. As regards such derivations Professor Skeat has observed:

"One of the queerest crazes in English etymology is the love of paradox, which is often carried to such an extent that it is considered mean, if not despicable, to accept an etymology that is obvious. It is of no use to prove to some by the clearest evidence that 'beefeater' is derived from beef and eater, or 'foxglove' from fox and glove, or 'offal' from off and fall. All this is to them but food for babes, and they crave for strong meat."

The structure of this "way" across the river was probably destroyed during the warfare with the Danes, perhaps in A.D. 993 when Olaf, King of Norway, came up to Staines with ninety-three ships and laid waste the country about it.<sup>2</sup> He moored

<sup>1</sup> Offa, King of Mercia (757-796) is supposed to have given to the abbey, Ashford (Exeфорд), Halliford (Halgeford, the holy ford over the Exe or Ux), Laleham, Staines, and Teddington.

<sup>2</sup> "Saxon Chron.," A.D. 993. It may here be mentioned that a passage way into the Surrey districts, before the Thames altered its channel by Laleham, was probably existing at that place through the "Burh-way" (way to the hill); and so named as it led on to the wooded uplands rising from the Thames behind Oatlands Pale Camp, in which district can still be found the names of Bur-hill, Bur-wood Park, Bur-wood House, etc. Leaving Laleham, where there is now a ferry, the Burh-way may have led, through Laleham Burhway, a field to which it gives its name, and across Chertsey Abbey Mead to the *veterem viam militarem* (the old trackway from Calleva into Kent) which passed by the frontier camp of Oatlands Pale. The oblong lines of this camp (probably Roman), single trenched, containing twelve acres but now lost in the grounds of the Oatlands Hotel, stood on that commanding bluff which rises from the old Thames channel, were, it seems, connected on the south by trenches with an upper encampment on St. George's hill, which is a part of the Burhill. Since "Burh" in Saxon may mean either a hill or a camp, this route from an ancient river passage to the hill and camp would naturally be known as the Bur-h-way. Oatlands Pale camp was

his vessels to the bank at a place there still known as "The Hythe" (a landing place), and perhaps then proceeded to entrench his men within a dyke, which according to Dr. Stukely formerly enclosed Staines, in order to provide a safe place of retreat before ravaging through Western Middlesex. The battle, which took place close to the Cow-way in the field now known as "War Close," lying within the grounds of Shepperton Manor House, may have occurred during this incursion when the stakeway was mostly destroyed to permit the passage of the vessels to Staines—six miles higher up the river. The remains of a few of these stakes, which for the last three centuries have given rise to endless speculation and controversy, were removed in 1807 by an old fisherman, who described them as being as thick as a man's thigh, black and hard, and shod with iron. They stood in two lines across the river, nine feet apart, the posts in each line being four feet from one another, while some were fixed in the bank as well. They have all disappeared at the present time.<sup>1</sup>

**The Ford at Thorn-ea.**—In British days from Greenwich to Battersea, and to the River Wandle, a vast swamp existed, eight by two miles, extending southwards till the rising ground, some forty feet high, is reached at Camberwell, Brixton, and Clapham. This vast mud flat was covered at high tide, excepting some eyots at Rother-hithe, Newing-ton, and Kenning-ton, which were just above water.<sup>2</sup>

"As late as the time of Caesar the soil which a large part of London covers, can have been little but a vast morass. Below Fulham the river stretched at high tide from the rises of Kensington and Hyde Park to the opposite shores of Peckham and Camberwell. All Pimlico and Westminster to the north, to the south all Battersea and Lambeth, all Newington and Kennington, all Bermondsey and Rotherhithe, formed a vast lagoon, broken only by little rises which became the 'eyes' and 'hithes,' the 'islands' and 'landing places' of later settlements. Yet lower down to the eastward the swamp widened as the Lea poured its waters into the Thames in an estuary of its own."<sup>3</sup>

During the Roman dominion a causeway continuing the Kentish section of Watling Street, was driven across two miles of this swamp from Kennington, past Newington Church to Stanegate, where St. Thomas's Hospital now stands, and at

levelled by an Earl of Lincoln, *temp.* George II; previous to this the bank and ditch could be plainly traced which connected it with St. George's hill camp, an outpost enclosing three acres and three roods. "Hist. of Surrey," 1809, Manning, ii, 758. See also "Jour. R. I. Cornwall," xx, May, 1878.

<sup>1</sup> "Hist. of Surrey," Manning, Thorne's "Environs of London": Napoleon III on a report by two officers of Engineers states in his "Life of Caesar" that there is no trace of a ford across the Thames at the site of the Coway stakes. A specimen stake was sent to the British Museum. It is noticed in the "Arch. Journal," xvi, p. 203.

<sup>2</sup> "South London," Besant.

<sup>3</sup> "Making of England," Green.



low tide a man could wade across the Thames to Thorn-*ea* (Thorn-eyot or Thorney Island, Westminster), a *locus terribilis*, as it was called in the first notices of its existence in Saxon times.<sup>1</sup> Thence through more water Watling Street led over the Green Park, along Park Lane, crossing Tamesis Street, the great way from Colchester to Silchester, into the Edgware Road, and so on to Verulamium (St. Albans), the Midlands, and into Wales. About the year A.D. 44 the Romans established a camp upon a bluff of land rising from the Thames, where in less than twenty years first a *canaba* and then a commercial town grew up since known as Londinium.<sup>2</sup> A ferry across the river until superseded by a bridge, and a short causeway to Newington over the Southwark marshes, gave access to the way from Thornea already mentioned. By this means considerable traffic would be diverted both from the British main route by the great ford of the Thames, eight miles higher up at Brentford, and from that *via* Thornea. Communication with the Midlands would then, on leaving Londinium, cross the Wallbrook and the Oldbourne (Fleet River) thence passing westwards down Tamesis Street (Oxford Street) would regain Watling Street by the Marble Arch. It has been further held that the journey was somewhat shortened by a cut or way which from Battle Bridge (King's Cross) followed the course of the Oldbourne, and then passed *via* Hampstead to Hendon, where it joined Watling Street. But in early British days, it must be remembered, London as a town was not existing. "It is far from being one of the oldest of our cities, and till the coming of the Romans indeed the loneliness of its site seems to have been unbroken by any settlement whatever. The 'dun' was in fact the centre of a vast wilderness. Beyond the marshes to the east lay the forest track of Southern Essex. Across the lagoon to the south rose the woodlands of Sydenham and Forest Hill. To the north the heights of Hampstead and Highgate were crowned with forest masses."<sup>3</sup> But in pre-Roman days the Thornea ford was probably only used as a way of necessity, as it was both difficult and dangerous of access from both sides of the

<sup>1</sup> A bye way from the old British trackway from Kent, the predecessor of the Watling Street. Instead of crossing the river as in Roman and later times at the point marked by London Bridge, it passed, according to Higden, to a point opposite Westminster, and crossing the river there struck north along the line of Park Lane and Edgware Road. Loftie, "Roman London," Arch. Jour., xxxiv, p. 165. See also "London before the Conquest," Lethaby, p. 57. As a ford it must have always been subsidiary to that at Brentford, which was over a shallow bed of gravel.

<sup>2</sup> By A.D. 61 "it was a town much frequented by many merchants and ships that enter its port." Tacitus, Anl., xiv, 33.

"The most natural way in which a town grew up of itself was from the buildings adjoining a Roman camp, and of course still more readily from the camp itself. Fortuitous aggregations of merchants and camp followers came to settle in the neighbourhood and built huts or *canabae*, which soon grew into something like a town." "Roman System of Provincial Administration," Arnold, 225.

<sup>3</sup> "Making of England," Green.

river. Merchants from the north had nowhere in the whole course of their journey a piece of country more difficult than this great swamp beyond the ford of Thorney. They splashed and floundered through it, over ankles, over knees, up to the middle, up to the neck, in mud and muddy water. The pack horses sank deep down with their loads."<sup>1</sup> There is no doubt that this was the ford where the Roman soldiers failed to overtake the Britons, mentioned in the account by Dion Cassius of the invasion under Plautius, A.D. 43.<sup>2</sup> For an Army to try and pass to such a ford, with two miles of treacherous mud flat on the south side and half a mile on the other, would be only courting disaster. Caesar could not have referred to it when writing that the Thames was passable on foot only at one place, meaning, of course, for his army of 14,000 men, with all its train.<sup>3</sup> "He knew the river, too, for he had in his camp Mandubratius, who had ruled in Essex, and must have been acquainted with it, to say nothing of other refugees and deserters."<sup>4</sup>

**Chelsea Reach.**—Maitland, in his "History of London," places Caesar's passage of the Thames at Chelsea.<sup>5</sup> There his army would also have met with disaster if in the face of the Britons he had attempted to cross the marshes which then bordered the river on both the Battersea and Chelsea sides. This, as above stated, was the fate which befell some soldiers of Aulus Plautius a century later when pursuing the Britons across the Surrey marsh a little lower down by the Thornea ford. All that Maitland seems to have done in 1732 in support of his theory was to take a boat to sound the river for shallow places, and thirty yards west of Chelsea College found the "channel N.E. to S.W. was not more than 4 feet 7 inches deep."!! He made no quest for the remains of the stakes which Caesar says lined both the bed and bank of the Thames, which have in great numbers been so found, guarding the great ford of the river at Brentford, now to be described.

<sup>1</sup> "South London," Besant.

<sup>2</sup> See chap. vii, *infra*, on Claudius Caesar, etc.

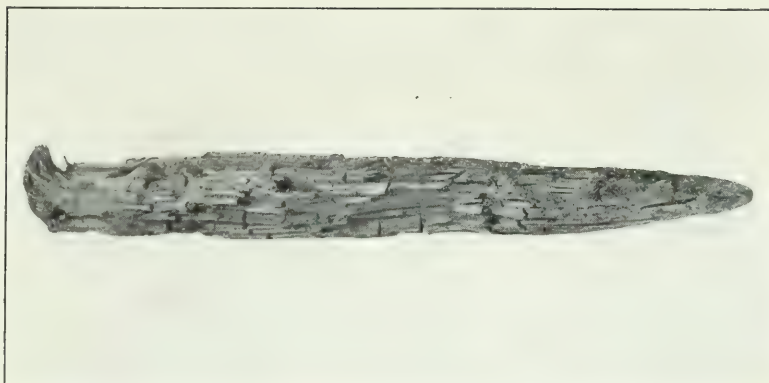
<sup>3</sup> A horse ferry supplanted the Westminster ford, of which its adjunct Horse-ferry lane alone survives. So also below Old England at Brentford (see Rocques' Survey) but now limited to passengers. A grant of this ferry was made by Henry VIII to John Hale. See *Inhabitants of Old Brentford v. Hale*, Star Chamber proceedings, vi, p. 60. It seems to have been called also *The King's ferry*, Patent Rolls, 7 Chas. I, 28 Nov.

<sup>4</sup> "Origines Celticae."

<sup>5</sup> "Hist. of London," Maitland, i, 8.







STUMPS OF BRITISH STAKES FROM THE THAMES AT BRENTFORD

## CHAPTER V

### THE GREAT FORD OF THE THAMES

EARLIEST MENTION—OLD ENGLAND—CAESAR'S PASSAGE—POSITION OF STAKES—  
REMOVAL OF STUMPS

#### Earliest Mention.

THE first mention of the ford of the Thames at Brentford is in the Anglo-Saxon Chronicle for the year 1016, which records that Edmund (Ironsides) the King gathered his forces and went all north of the Thames to London and relieved the citizens, and then two days after went over at Brentford, and there fought against the (Danish) Army and put it to flight. Another account, by William of Malmesbury, *circa* 1130, in his "History of the Kings of England," when referring to this rout of the Danes twice mentions the ford—*transito vado quod dicitur Brentford*, and, *prae occupatoque vado quod superias nominavi Brentford*.<sup>1</sup> Later on Bishop Gibson in his edition of Camden's "Britannia," 1695, states that "the Thames was in ancient times easily forded at Brentford, and is so still, there being now at low ebb not above three feet of water."

There was but little tidal scour in those early days, for irregular banks, shoals, weeds, reeds and fallen trees, etc., coupled with the lateral flow over miles of swamps, would all tend to impede the flow in the river proper. Constant dredging in recent years has taken place upon the gravel shingle in the Syon reach of the river, to deepen the Brentford channel for navigation, and from the above causes it can be imagined that 2,000 years ago the river here was much shallower than at present, and therefore easily fordable at low tide. The late Mr. Rough, a Conservancy Inspector, told the writer in 1905 that the river bed was much flatter prior to the dredging operations. All the accessories of a ford convenient for military purposes were to be found here. On the Surrey side a wide and level approach over a firm and low lying bank (B.M. 13 feet) led down to a shallow river of no great width flowing over a broad bed of gravel. In ancient days the ford was reached from Richmond Hill by a trackway which survived in an "old lane or footpath called Love Lane, or Kew Foot Road, and which led from Richmond Green to the ferry across the river between Kew and Brentford. It had been

<sup>1</sup> See also chronicles by Florence, and Henry of Huntingdon.

of little service after the building of Kew Bridge in 1757 when the present road became used, and so was it closed by an Act of Parliament in 1785."<sup>1</sup> The passage across would generally be made by travellers at low water, and it probably lay up stream, a little above the line of route of the present ferry. The old ford was a double one, as an arm of the Brent had afterwards to be crossed before ascending the ridge (B.M. 25) which lies on a tongue of land between the Brent and a small brook from Little Ealing.

**Old England.**—On the intervening triangle of land, forming the delta of the Brent<sup>2</sup> lay the town meadow, happily named and still known as "Old England," and so described on the Ordnance sheets. Its old appearance has now, alas, gone for ever, nearly all lost in docks, and buried beneath railway embankments. However, the view of the bank of the Thames here, immediately below and adjoining the grounds of Syon Park, will give some idea of the "Old England" of former days.

It is now impossible to ascertain what further relics of ancient strife for the passage of the ford remain buried beneath the soil of "Old England"; but the late Thomas Layton, F.S.A., of Brentford, in the "sixties," during the excavations for the docks, fortunately obtained many interesting antiquities of which he kindly supplied me with this list. Stone celts polished 3 to 7 inches, stone implements of various sizes with holes in centre, stone chisels mostly in flint 1 to 3 and 3 to 5 inches. Bronze and iron swords 2 feet, more or less, in length, and iron spear heads.<sup>3</sup> Many Roman bronze coins and some of silver. Numerous portions of Roman pottery ware, also some cinerary urns: Large quantities of human skulls and bones, considered to be the remains of those who fell in the battle with the Danes, A.D. 1016, but query, rather in that of 1642, between the troops of Charles I and the Parliament. Near the main road above the river, horse bits, spurs, a bronze celt, a Roman mortarium, and blocks of chalk, the latter perhaps used in constructing the bed of the western road. It is certain that at least one hundred really fine specimens have been discovered here, and may be seen in the Brentford Museum. During the recent rebuilding of Kew Bridge, a mile from the ford lower down the stream, a fine specimen of a bronze celt with a portion of the oak haft remaining was dredged up. It was presented to

<sup>1</sup> "The Royal Residences of Kew," W. L. Rutton, F.S.A., in *Home Counties Mag.*, April, 1905.

<sup>2</sup> Before it was canalized the southern arm of the Brent entered the Thames just below the boat in the view here given. This arm divided the ancient township of West Brentford in the parish of Hanwell, from that of Isleworth.

<sup>3</sup> In June, 1904, a fine specimen of a bronze spear head was dredged up in the Syon reach, and doubtless from time to time other finds may be made. It would be well if the Middlesex County Council, having the necessary powers, were to invite gifts of such things and organize a County Museum. Ancient articles of a known class lose much of their interest when removed out of the county or district in which they were discovered.



OLD ENGLAND, BRENTFORD (MIDDLE SECTION), WITH THAMES AT  $\frac{3}{4}$  EBB, FROM SURREY SIDE





H.M. King Edward at the opening ceremony in 1903. Many similar antiquities from this part of the river are to be found in public and private collections.

The main historical interest in this ford lies in what has since 1905, been generally accepted as a fact, viz: that Caesar's celebrated passage of the Thames took place at this spot.<sup>1</sup> Previous writers have suggested other places but were silent about the defensive works with the exception of Coway, where, as already stated, the remains of a few stakes extending *across* the river have been found. One, however, inclined to Brentford because of the ancient ford there, and the adjoining banks which the Britons could readily fortify, but he failed to make enquiries as to the existence of any stumps in the bed of the river, and for long known as a source of danger to navigation at low water.<sup>2</sup> Investigations as to the positions of these stumps in the two mile stretch between Kew Bridge and Isleworth were undertaken by the writer in 1905, and the results were first made public in the "Archaeological Journal" etc.<sup>3</sup> Those papers are now reviewed and brought up to date.

Julius Caesar writes in his "De Bello Gallico," v, 11: "The territory of Cassivellaunus was divided from the maritime states by the Thames, distant about 80 miles." His object was to defeat Cassivellaunus whose capital entrenchment lay at Verulamium (by St. Albans) distant 19 miles by the northern trackway from the ford of the Thames at Brentford. It is obvious that "about 80 miles" could not refer to the general stretch of the lower Thames, but to some place of passage across it, where the territory of the British chieftain could be entered. Now the passage at Brentford appears to be that place, since it lies just 80 Roman miles distant from Dover. The trade route from that ancient port of landing to the great ford of the lower Thames, and thence onwards into the Midlands, was at that time a well-known one, so that Caesar was able to state the distance in miles.<sup>4</sup> Further on in the narrative (ch. 18) we are told that "Caesar being aware of their plans, led his army to the Thames to the kingdom of Cassivellaunus.

<sup>1</sup> A granite monument to record Caesar's passage, and other historical events which have taken place at Brentford, has since been erected at the Ferryhead. The expenses were met by public subscriptions, and the memorial was unveiled by the late Duke of Northumberland, K.G., in May, 1909. See illustration.

<sup>2</sup> "Jour. Brit. Arch. Association," 1860, p. 133. Paper by Rev. H. Jenkins.

<sup>3</sup> "Arch. Jour.," 1906. Also in the writer's paper on "Antiquities of Middlesex," 1906.

<sup>4</sup> The port where Caesar expected to disembark on his previous expedition was evidently Dover, where the cliffs then extended further seawards than at the present time. In "De Bello Gallico," iv, 23, he thus describes it: "On reaching Britain he beheld the enemy forces in arms on all the hills. . . the sea was confined by mountains so close to it that a weapon could be flung to the shore from the higher grounds. Deeming this place unsuitable for disembarking he remained at anchor until the ninth hour, and then moved his vessels on to an open and level strand seven thousand paces further off." The distance from Deal, the generally accepted place for Caesar's disembarking on his second expedition, is somewhat over, while that from Lemanis is under 80 Roman miles to Brentford. A Roman mile contains 1,611 yards.

The river was passable on foot only at one place and that with difficulty. When he arrived there he observed a large force of the enemy drawn up on the opposite bank. The bank was also defended with sharpened stakes fixed outwards, and similar stakes were placed under water and concealed by the river. Having learnt these particulars from the captives and deserters, Caesar sent forward the cavalry, and immediately ordered the legions to follow. But the soldiers went at such a pace and in such a rush, though only their heads were above water, that the enemy could not withstand the charge of the legions and cavalry, and they left the bank and took to flight."

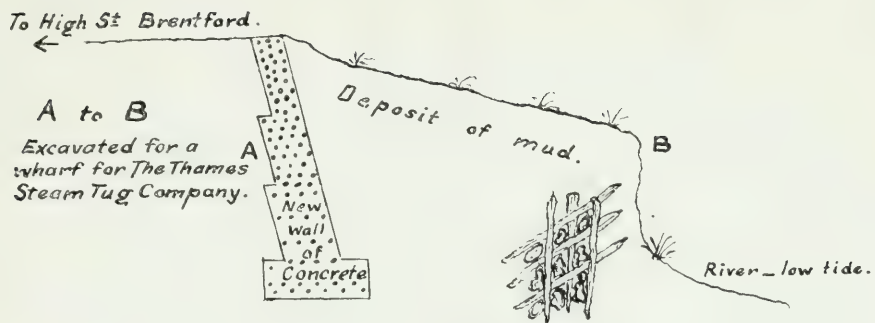
Now here are three further facts mentioned, all of which as will be shown were in existence at Brentford. The first is that the Thames could only be crossed with difficulty and at one place, that is by Caesar's army which consisted of about 14,000 men.<sup>1</sup> The difficulty obviously was that it was a tidal ford, and that when the main stream had been crossed to the delta of land formed by the mouths of the Brent ("Old England"), an arm of this river had also to be forded before the firm tongue of land was reached which lay between the Brent and a brook on the Middlesex side. The other two facts are, that below Old England the bank on the further, or Middlesex side, was, in fact, defended by sharpened stakes fixed outwards, and that similar ones were placed in the river. Dion Cassius in his "History of Rome" says, "They (the Britons) retreated to the Thames and defending its passage with stakes as well above as beneath the water, here they took their stand, but Caesar by a vigorous attack compelled them to quit their stockade."<sup>2</sup>

**Position of Stakes.**—As regards the sharpened stakes on the bank, Mr. B. Hanson, of Southall, a well-known contractor, informed the writer both verbally and by letter that in 1881, while engaged on a riverside works for the Thames Lighterage Company at a little below Brentford ferryhead on the Middlesex shore (see H on the diagram), he laid bare at ten feet below the then surface of the bank a triple line of heavy piles of young oak trees. They were interlaced with top and lop through which were thrust stout stakes with sharpened ends pointing outwards at an angle of 45 degrees and kept in position by layers of heavy stones. In one of his letters (25 Nov., 1904) Mr. Hanson adds:

"Some of the stakes were pointed, others with butts upwards as if small oak, or other hard wood trees had been cut down for the purpose, and I should say the

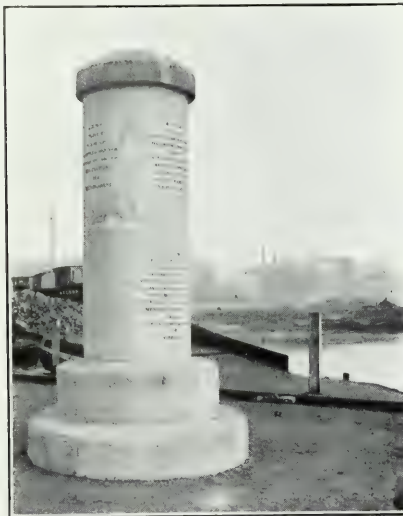
<sup>1</sup> The Thornea ford, already described, was in pre-Roman times but a dangerous bye-pass unfit for the passage of an army.

<sup>2</sup> Dion Cassius, born A.D. 155. See "Mon. Hist. Brit.," lii. Evidently the victorious passage through the defence works on the river was regarded as an important feature in the campaign.



POINTED STAKES AND PILES ON THE BANK OF THE THAMES AT BRENTFORD

From Mr. Hanson's Sketch



MONUMENT AT THE FERRYHEAD, BRENTFORD





top and lop of same had been used to lay between the stakes. As I told you, most of the wood was cased with petrified sand or something of that kind."

He also mentioned that much labour had to be expended on the removal of the unexpected defence work, which was of a massive character, and he regretted that no particular attention was paid to this ancient work, or to the numerous stone celts, coins, etc., found in the adjacent soil, which alas, were disposed of by the workmen for pots of beer. The Venerable Bede writing early in the eighth century, when referring to Caesar's victory at the Thames, mentions that some of the defence work was still visible.<sup>1</sup> To travellers then using the ford, or passing along Tamesis Street, the Roman western highway, now the main street of Brentford, the remains of the oaken palisades on the bank, 50 yards distant, and of the stumps appearing above low water would at that date be visible. With regard to the "similar stakes placed in the bed of the river" there is abundant evidence of their existence both above and below the fordway on the removal of their stumps or ends by the Thames Conservancy during dredging operations. From the records of that body it appears that no other ancient stakes have been discovered through dredging in the lower Thames. In November, 1774, the Corporation of London ordered two rows of piles to be driven at Richmond to preserve the channel, and in October, 1775, three rows at Teddington on the Middlesex side for the same purpose; but this was before the construction of the lock there, and there is not any trace of either work at the present time. Much information was obtained by the writer in 1905<sup>2</sup> when investigating the position of the line of the stumps, from the late Inspector Rough of the Thames Conservancy, who for upwards of forty years had been engaged upon the river, and was intimately acquainted with this part of it, besides having superintended the local dredging work—also from Mr. Haig, foreman of the Conservancy works near Kew Bridge, respecting the numerous stumps which had been removed during the past thirty years. He kindly gave me several specimens which I have since passed on to Museums and to interested persons.

**Removal of Stumps.**—The result of investigations conducted in 1905 and since that date, may thus be summed up. Between Isleworth Ait and Kew Bridge upwards of 266 stumps have from time to time been removed from the bed of the river where it was shallow, and in consequence was lowered nine inches by dredging, which left the tops of the stumps projecting above the bottom of the

<sup>1</sup> "Bedaë Hist. Eccl.," i, 2.

<sup>2</sup> I wish to acknowledge my indebtedness to Mr. W. S. Bunting and Mr. W. Berell, M.I.C.E., both of the Thames Conservancy, for much detail information as to the position of the remains of some of the stakes in the river. Also to Mr. Gordon Thomas of the Grand Junction Canal Co. for a plan of the mouth of the Brent before that river was canalized, and to other kind friends who rendered much assistance.

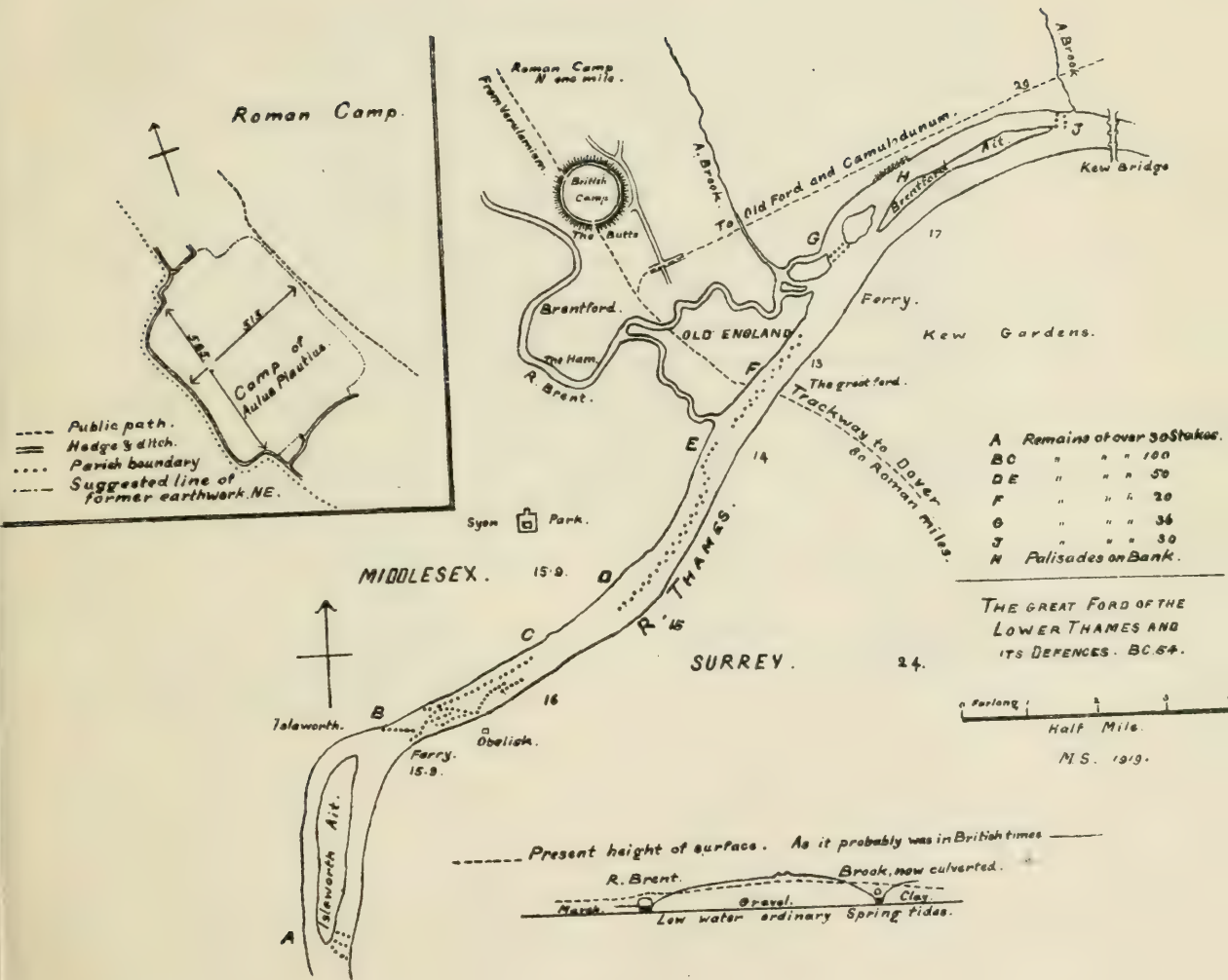
river, and a source of danger to navigation at low tide. The method of extraction was, at low water to pass a chain secured to a barge round the projecting head or top of the stump, which was pulled up, often from a depth of 5 to 6 feet in the soil of the river as the barge was raised by the tide.<sup>1</sup> The remains of the stakes consisted of stout young oak trees varying in length from 5 to 6 feet and over, with diameters up to 12 inches, and roughly pointed at the lower end. Their condition varied, on the best specimens decay existed to an inch or so in depth, rifts and splittings appearing during the process of drying on exposure to the air. The ridges thus caused could be broken off by the finger, while the cores were intensely hard and almost black in colour. From the inner portions various articles as mementoes have been made.<sup>2</sup> The middle and upper ends of the piles which had stood in, and above the water, had long ago decayed during the twelve centuries since the time of Bede, but the lower ends or stumps owe their preservation to being buried in the bed of the river away from the air. The tops of some of the stumps which had projected a little above the bed level, were frayed from contact with the keels of vessels. From the positions of the extracted stumps it may with confidence be asserted that in pre-Roman times a palisade of stakes guarded the shallow stretch of the Thames extending for nearly two miles from Isleworth Ait to Kew Bridge.

Commencing at the southern end of that Ait (see A on diagram) the remains of about thirty stakes have been removed from that part. Below Isleworth Ferry (B to C) upwards of one hundred stumps have been drawn, some of them stood in a double line running "in a diagonal direction down stream from the Middlesex to the Surrey side and their positions have been carefully ascertained. In the course of dredging the stumps of many of the stakes have been extracted in the main channel, and those on the foreshore have been removed as they became an obstruction or danger to navigation. Some few still remain (1905), their tops are level with the foreshore and are visible only at dead low water, summer level. The extracted stakes have from their appearance indicated that they have been tied or interlaced in some way or other."<sup>3</sup> Opposite Syon Park and above "Old England" (D to E) some fifty stumps have been taken up, and twenty in front of

<sup>1</sup> In his younger days the writer, when sailing his centre-board boat, often ran aground at low water in the Syon reach, and frequently saw shallow draught "penny steamers" stuck fast there waiting for the flood tide to enable them to reach Richmond. By a curious coincidence on May 12th, 1909, when the Brentford Monument commemorating Caesar's passage across the Thames, etc., was unveiled, so low was the tide over the site of the ancient ford, that rowing skiffs which had been moored amid stream were aground on its shingle bed, and children were seen paddling half-way across the river. This was subsequent to the dredging operations.

<sup>2</sup> An old carpenter who had made a cabinet which was presented to the writer remarked that his chisels were as much on the grindstone as on the wood!

<sup>3</sup> From a letter of December, 1905, from Mr. Bunting to the writer.







"Old England" (F). From the side channel (G) between Brentford ferry and the Aits thirty-six have been drawn, and thirty from the mouth of the northern channel (J) at the lower end of the Ait nearest to Kew Bridge. In addition to these 266 stumps which have been removed, there are doubtless a great many more remaining buried in the bed of the river, but in too soft and decayed condition to be a source of danger to navigation. After the Romans had subjugated the southern portion of Britain much of the defence work would probably be removed in order to open the waterway for vessels, and to give freer access to this important ford, the main passage of which seems to have led through "Old England," that historic and well-named spot where so many evidences of ancient warfare have been discovered. To protect the passage and also to guard the adjoining stretch of shallow water<sup>1</sup> upon the gravel stratum which underlies the Thames between Isleworth and Kew, 2,000 or more stems of young oaks would alone be required for the upright stakes.<sup>2</sup> It is hardly conceivable that they were first placed there to oppose Caesar's troops, but rather that such defence work, though repaired and strengthened to meet the invasion, had from the earliest times been maintained to prevent hostile incursions by South Eastern tribes from entering the interior portion of Britain through this natural portal in the barrier of the Thames.

<sup>1</sup> The following figures were supplied to me, 1905, as the depths of water in Syon Reach when the water was standing  $13\frac{1}{2}$  feet below T. H. W. and *about 18 inches of flood water out* at the time of sounding and subsequent to the dredging operations:

|                 |   |   |   |   |                  |
|-----------------|---|---|---|---|------------------|
| Kew Bridge      | . | . | . | . | 3 feet 6 inches. |
| Brentford Ferry | . | . | . | . | 4 ,, 9 ,,        |
| Old England     | . | . | . | . | 4 ,, 0 ,,        |
| Obelisk         | . | . | . | . | 2 ,, 6 ,,        |
| Isleworth Ferry | . | . | . | . | 6 ,, 9 ,,        |

<sup>2</sup> Specimens of these stakes can be seen at the British and London Museums, the Middlesex Guildhall, Westminster, etc.

## CHAPTER VI

### CAESAR IN MIDDLESEX

#### MARCH TO THE THE THAMES—ROUTE THROUGH MIDDLESEX—SUBMISSION OF THE TRIBES

##### March to the Thames.

**W**E will now go back a little and trace Caesar's march from the Kentish coast and through Middlesex to Verulamium.

About 18 July 54 B.C. <sup>1</sup> Caesar reached the shores of Britain with a fleet of some 800 vessels, transporting from Gaul an army of five legions, about 17,500 infantry, with 2,000 cavalry. <sup>2</sup> After the troops had disembarked, Caesar tells us that he at once marched to attack the British, who were beaten back to a stronghold in a neighbouring wood, "well fortified by nature and art." At last they were driven out, and this spot in Bourne Park is still known as "Old England's Hole." <sup>3</sup> It is a curious coincidence that both in Kent and Middlesex, there should be two places known as "Old England," where Caesar engaged the British on his march to Verulamium.

Then he returned to the coast, as a storm had arisen which had caused considerable damage to his ships, and so it was not until 2 August that he was able to march on the Thames, leaving his vessels under a guard of ten cohorts, or about 3,000 men, with 300 horse. <sup>4</sup>

Owing to the narrow British trackways through the woods, the frequent sallies of the enemy, and to the necessity of foraging for food, the progress of the army was slow, and when on the march might be reckoned at ten miles a day. The upland of Richmond was probably the last camping ground before Caesar reached the Thames, and the middle of August may be taken as the date of the battle at the Great Ford of the Thames, in the Brentford reach, between the Romans and the allied

<sup>1</sup> According to the Emperor Napoleon III it was on July 21st.

<sup>2</sup> Reckoning a legion at 3,500 men. The full strength was from 4,500 to 5,000 infantry. One of Caesar's legions on active service would rarely number more than from 3,000 to 3,600 men. "Caesar," Dr. W. G. Rutherford.

<sup>3</sup> "Never forget that this is Old England's Hole, and that here a last stand was made for liberty by your British forefathers." See "Caesar in Kent," Vine, p. 168.

<sup>4</sup> "De Bello Gall.," v, 2 ("The Celt, Roman, and Saxon"). Wright considers that Caesar's march lay along the edge of the Kentish Weald. The probable route was Deal to Aylesford, Eltham, Brentford, Stanmore, and Verulamium.

tribes under Cassivellaunus. After allowing for the guard left at the coast and for losses on the march, it appears that Caesar, when he forced the ford, had under him 14,000 soldiers, exclusive of any deserters from the Britons. He was opposed by large numbers of tribesmen, for the country was "well peopled," and they were there in "great numbers." When Caesar arrived at the Surrey end of the ford he did not wait for low tide, for his infantry went up to their necks in water. If, as it has been suggested, the Roman *catapultae* cast stones across the river, then under cover of that fire the cavalry would first go forward, and from being mounted could assist the infantry who followed them to scale the barrier of stakes and interlaced boughs.<sup>1</sup> To have attacked anywhere off the main trackway would only court disaster, for in addition to the marshes which then fringed either shore, behind these on the Middlesex side ran the eastern chariotway, on which at any point down to the Lea, Cassivellaunus could have speedily concentrated strong forces to fall upon the Romans struggling through the riverside mire to gain firm ground.

**Route through Middlesex.**—When Caesar's troops had rushed the palisades, the Britons abandoned their circular stockade on the tongue of land rising from the Thames between the Brent and the brook from Ealing, and taking to flight, retreated to the wooded uplands of Northern Middlesex. Cassivellaunus now disbanded his levies, retaining about 4,000 charioteers, with whom, Caesar says, he used to watch our marches and retire a little from the road and conceal himself in places difficult of access and wooded. From those districts through which the British chieftain knew we were about to march, he drove the cattle and the inhabitants from the fields into the woods, so that when for the purpose of plundering and laying waste our cavalry scattered themselves too widely, he would send forth his charioteers from the woods by all the known ways and bypaths, and engage with them to the great danger of our horse."<sup>2</sup> From this we can

<sup>1</sup> Caesar makes no mention of the use of elephants to assist his troops.

<sup>2</sup> Cicero, writing to Trebatius, says: "Take care, you who are always preaching caution, mind you don't get caught by the British chariot men. I advise you to capture a chariot and drive straight home" ("Ad Treb.," Ep. VI). A chariot, or *essedum* ("ess," Celtic for a carriage) may have contained several men. Caesar says: "Their way of fighting with their chariots is this: first they drive them on all sides and throw their darts; inasmuch that by the very terror of their horses, and noise of the wheels, they often break the ranks of the enemy. When they have forced their way into the midst of the cavalry, they quit their chariot and fight on foot. Meanwhile the drivers retire a little from the combat, and place themselves in such a manner as to favour the retreat of their countrymen should they be overpowered by the enemy. Thus in action they perform the part of nimble horsemen and stable infantry. By continued exercise and use they have arrived at that expertness, that in the most steep and difficult places they can stop their horses at full stretch, turn them which way they please, run along the pole, rest on the harness, and throw themselves back into their chariots with incredible dexterity" ("De Bello Gall.," iv, 33).



identify central Middlesex with its primeval forest through which the northern chariotway ran, bordered here and there with cultivated patches of land, while the hills of Sudbury, Horsadun, Harrow, and Brockley would be excellent points from which to observe the movements of the Roman army.

**Submission of the Tribes.**—Meanwhile before marching on Verulamium Caesar received the submissions of several British tribes, and the historic place where this took place was probably the tableland a mile above the ford, between the Brent and the Ealing brook, and near the Boston Road, Hanwell, to be described in the next chapter, as the spot where, in A.D. 43, Aulus Plautius pitched his camp. On leaving Caesar, the Trinovantes from Essex, and the Cenemagni from Suffolk, would return home *via* Old Ford on the Eastern way. The Cassi were close at hand in Herts, or if, as some suppose, they hailed from Gloucestershire, then they, and the Ancalites from Bucks would travel by the north-western trackway crossing the Ux (now the Colne) at Uxbridge; while the Segontiaci from Berks, and the Bibroci, from Surrey, would use the Thames ford. From these envoys Caesar learned “that he was not far from the capital of Cassivelaunus, which was situated amidst woods and marshes, for a town among the British is nothing more than a thick wood, fortified with a ditch and rampart to serve as a place of retreat against the incursions of their enemies.” Inside of which, Strabo says, “they built huts and collected cattle, but not with a view of remaining long there.” Allowing ten days for these matters, and for clearing the hostile Britons from the hills and forest in the Harrow-Stanmore district, Caesar would be striking his camp about 25 August. He would then march through Middlesex by the northern chariotway to Verulamium, the stronghold of Cassivelaunus, distant twenty miles, which would certainly come within the description of “not far” away from his camp above the ford of the Thames. Verulamium fell towards the end of August, “for the enemy after a short stand were obliged to give way, and vast numbers of cattle were found there.”

Since only a small part of the summer now remained, Caesar, having fixed the yearly tribute which these British tribes were to pay, and having taken hostages, marched back to the coast, where he found his fleet repaired. Then, as the equinox was drawing near, he sailed away to Gaul,<sup>1</sup> having been in Britain a little over two months, and without having achieved any permanent conquest though leaving behind a dread of the Roman name.

<sup>1</sup> To Atticus, Cicero writes: “We are awaiting the issue of this British war. . . . Anyhow we know that not one scruple of money exists there nor any other plunder except slaves, and none of them either literary or artistic. I heard (Oct. 24th) from Caesar and my brother Quintus that all is over in Britain. No booty. They wrote on Sept. 26th ‘just embarking’” (Ep. 16 and 17).

## CHAPTER VII

### CLAUDIUS CAESAR AT THE FORD OF THE THAMES

PLAUTIUS ADVANCES TO THE THAMES—BATTLE AT WIMBLEDON—CLAUDIUS  
CROSSES THE THAMES—CAMP AT BRENTFORD—CARACTACUS

#### Plautius advances to the Thames

**I**N A.D. 43 Aulus Plautius landed in Kent with an army of about 40,000 men. His first object was to capture Camulodunum (near Colchester), the capital entrenchment of Caractacus, the chieftain of the Catuvellauni, and the regular way there from Kentland lay through the main ford of the lower Thames at Brentford, and thence through Middlesex by the eastern chariot- or track-way crossing the Lea at Old Ford, and on into Essex.

The reason for describing this part of the campaign, is on account of the light it throws upon the difficulties connected with a passage into Middlesex by the minor ford at Thornea Island, Westminster, and on the protection then afforded by the Thames with its bordering marshes against incursions by the tribes dwelling in the south-eastern portion of Britain.

Up to the time of the invasion by Plautius it would seem that the Thames and its marshes formed a division between two tribal groups or confederacies. To the south of the river stretched the Belgic group in touch with their brethren in Gaul, and in Julius Caesar's time they were under Commios the Atrebate, whose sons Tincommios, Verica and Eppillos ruled respectively over the Regni, Atrebates and Cantii. To the north of the Thames lay the Catuvellauni and their allies under Cassivellaunus, who as already described was defeated by Caesar at Verulamium. Cassivellaunus was succeeded by his son or grandson Tascovant, who died about A.D. 1, and Cumbeline, son of Tascovant, held his capital at Camulodunum and died about A.D. 41.

The historian Dion Cassius (*circa* A.D. 150) states that "the Romans met with no opposition on their landing, the petty chiefs of Kent appear to have sought refuge in their woods and marshes. . . . Plautius first defeated Caractacus and afterwards Togodumnus, the sons of Cumbeline who was dead. When they took to flight, he won over by agreement some of the Boduni who were under the dominion of the Catuvellauni, and from thence, having left a garrison behind him,

he advanced further. When he had come to a certain river which the barbarians did not think the Romans could pass without a bridge, he sends forward the Keltoi whose custom it is to swim with their arms, even over the most rapid rivers . . . he sent over Flavius Vespasianus<sup>1</sup> . . . and so they also, having somewhere passed the river, slew many of the barbarians who were not expecting them: the rest however did not fly . . . on the following day having again come to an engagement, they contended on almost equal terms till Cneius Geta thoroughly defeated them.

"The Britons having withdrawn themselves thence to the River Thames, whence it empties itself into the ocean and becomes an estuary at high tide, and having easily passed it, as being well acquainted with such parts as were firm and easy of passage, the Romans followed them, but on this occasion failed to overtake them. The Keltoi having again swum over, and certain others having passed over by a bridge a little higher up, engaged them on several sides at once and cut off many of them, but rashly pressing on the remainder, they fell into difficult marshes and lost many of their men. On this account, therefore, and because the Britons did not give in even though Togodumnus had perished, but they rather conspired together to revenge him, Plautius became alarmed and advanced no further, but his present acquisitions he made secure with a guard and sent for Claudius, for his orders were to do this if any particular difficulty arose, since much preparations had been made, and even elephants provided for the expedition.

"When the news arrived Claudius, crossing into Britain, joined the army that was awaiting him on the Thames and having taken the command passed over it, and coming to blows with the barbarians who were concentrated to oppose his advance he conquered them in a battle and took Camulodunum, the royal residence of Cumbeline. Afterwards he brought many over, some by agreement, others by force. He placed them under Plautius, and ordered him to bring the remainder under subjection, and Claudius reached Rome after an absence of six months, of which he had only spent sixteen days in Britain."<sup>2</sup>

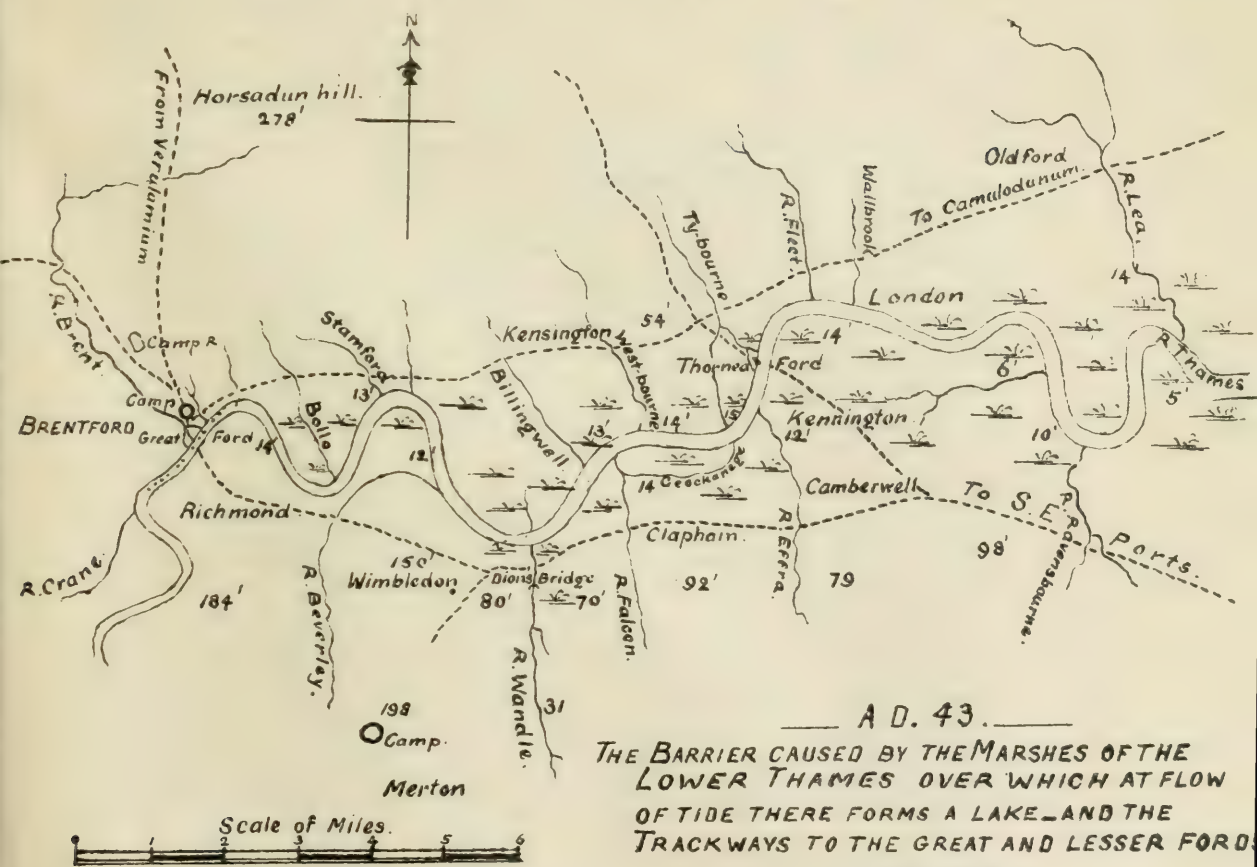
The Britons after their second defeat, which appears to have been by the Medway, withdrew along their main trackway, leading it is supposed by Eltham, to where the land formed an estuary at high tide. This would be over the great marsh then extending from Woolwich to Wandsworth, eight miles in length by two in breadth at some places. They were pursued by Plautius who, on reaching Shooters' Hill (418 feet high) would see stretching out below him the Thames and its bordering marshes. After crossing the Ravensbourne, Plautius appears to have advanced along the trackway into the neighbourhood of Camberwell. From here he sent a detachment to follow the Britons across the marshy flat where

<sup>1</sup> Roman Emperor, A.D. 70-79.

<sup>2</sup> Dion Cassius, "Hist. Rom.," xxxix, 50. See "Mon. Hist. Brit.," p. li.



# Territory of The Catuvellauni.







Kennington now stands. The latter being familiar with the bypaths over the marsh to the minor ford of the Thames across to Thornea (Westminster), easily escaped and passed over, but not so the Romans, who failed in their object because they did not know the intricacies of the way—particularly when the rising tide began to cover it—and so splashing and foundering in the slimy ooze, they failed in their attempt.

**Battle at Wimbledon.**—Now comes the location of Dion's bridge. It can hardly be suggested that in pre-Roman times any such structure spanned the lower Thames, though it is said that the art of bridge building was known to the Celtic nations. The bridge "a little higher up" must therefore have been the structure which carried the principal way and trade route from Dover, along which Plautius had been marching, over the river Wandle, and thence to the main ford of the lower Thames and on into the Midlands.<sup>1</sup> This Celtic construction probably consisted of timbers laid upon piles of oak driven into the muddy bed of the Wandle<sup>2</sup> with the approaches upon wattles laid across the bordering marshes, which in those far-off days extended some little distance up that stream. Here over the Wandle may be placed Dion's bridge, for Plautius' first objective was to capture Camulodunum in Essex, the chief town of the Catuvellauni, and since his troops had failed to cross the Thames by the minor ford at Westminster, he was forced to continue along the regular route on the Surrey side to the main ford at Brentford.

On arriving at the Wandle he would see on its further bank the steep rise of over one hundred feet which leads to Wimbledon Common and Park. Here the British forces would be drawn up, advantageously placed to offer, as they did, a stout resistance to the Roman advance, besides having in their rear a large circular entrenchment of over 300 yards in diameter enclosing fourteen acres upon which to fall back, and now commonly known as "Caesar's Camp."<sup>3</sup> To attack the Britons on several sides at once, as Dion says, the Roman General sent his Celtic troops to "swim over," that was, past the mouth of the Wandle to the Putney shore, and others to cross the river higher up towards Merton, while he pressed forward with another division to force the bridge and attack the British

<sup>1</sup> The art of bridge building was known at an early period to the Celtic nations, "Words and Places," Taylor. "Life in Early Britain," Windle, 95. The first bridge connecting Kew with Brentford was opened in 1759. It consisted of eleven arches, mostly of wood.

<sup>2</sup> Witness the two miles of palisades which the Catuvellauni had driven into the Thames at Brentford to defend the entrance into their territory.

<sup>3</sup> "Caesar's Camps"—so called, no matter by whom or when constructed—abound all over England. The writer was once on a former portion of Hounslow Heath looking at a cannon buried muzzle downwards, which, with another, had marked the base for a trigonometrical survey, when a cottager informed him that it had been used in a battle on the Heath against Julius Caesar!

centre. In this engagement the Romans, though successful, lost many men in the marshes whilst pursuing the enemy. But the death of Togodumnus, who had fallen in this conflict, instead of causing the submission of the Britons, only roused them to fury, and on this account Plautius advanced no further and sent for the Emperor. Meanwhile the army would rest on the high ground above Richmond, from whence Plautius could keep watch on the ford of the Thames, while he brought up the elephants and his train of supplies, which were considerable, for the expedition had been fitted out for the subjugation of Britain.

**Claudius crosses the Thames.**—On his arrival Claudius Caesar took command of the army which was awaiting him on the Thames, and more fortunate than his predecessor Julius Caesar, experienced no difficulty in passing the defences of the ford at Brentford. This may be attributed to one of the elephants which Plautius had brought with the army, the mere sight of which in its war panoply was too much for the Britons drawn up on the Middlesex shore, who thereupon fled. In support of this there is the following dramatic narrative by Polyænus (*circa* A.D. 180) of the panic caused to the Britons by an armed elephant crossing a river, and though this writer apparently ascribes the incident to the earlier campaign of Julius Caesar—who makes no mention of elephants in his account of his battle on the Thames—it appears properly to pertain to that of Claudius Caesar, whose army Dion states was accompanied by these huge beasts. Polyænus says:

“Caesar in Britain was undertaking to cross a large river. The King of the Britons, Cassivellaunus, was holding him in check with many horses and chariots. Caesar had in his train a very large elephant, an animal hitherto unseen by the Britons. Having protected it with iron plates, and having set upon its back a large tower with bowmen and slingers therein, he ordered them to enter the river. The Britons were panic-stricken at the sight of this strange beast. As to the horses, what need is there to say anything, seeing that even among the Greeks horses take fright at the sight of even an unarmed elephant? They could not even endure to look at one carrying a tower and cased in armour and shooting out darts and stones. So then the Britons fled, horses, chariots and all, and the Romans crossed the river without molestation, having frightened away their enemies by means of a single beast.”<sup>1</sup>

It is difficult to reconcile the story of the elephant as told by Polyænus with the account given by Julius Caesar of his engagement with Cassivellaunus on the Thames. In speaking of “sending forward the cavalry” Julius would surely have mentioned so remarkable a fact as the presence of an elephant in the midst of his war horses, however well trained they might be to the sight of it, nor

<sup>1</sup> “Strategemata,” viii, 5. *Vide also* “Mon. Hist. Brit.,” l.

would he be likely to omit so creditable an exploit. The earlier passage of the ford was opposed, and only overcome by the joint action of cavalry and infantry, while the later one was uncontested, as stated in both accounts. Further, Caesar would not necessarily mean Julius—it might be Claudius or any other Roman Emperor. Polyænus apparently confuses the earlier with the later passage of the Thames, and calls the British chieftain Cassivellaunus instead of Caractacus.<sup>1</sup>

After crossing the river, Claudius advanced from Brentford, where he would leave a rearguard, by the eastern chariotway which led from Middlesex into Essex, and on in his dash to Camulodunum, distant sixty miles, which he captured after a battle with the Britons. The command of the army was then left to Plautius, who remained in Britain for three years engaged in subjugating the southern portion of the country.

Having possession of the principal passage of the Thames, the Roman Commander would have to construct on the Middlesex side a temporary camp to guard both his stores and the food. Later on there was established ten miles lower down the river, between the outfalls of the Fleet and Lea, a permanent station upon a slight bluff of land, which, rising from a shore clear of marsh, afforded a convenient approach to vessels with sea-borne supplies. This site possessed further advantages, for by means of a ferry with a causeway across the Surrey swamps to connect with the main route to the Kentish ports, a shorter overland way would be obtained than *via* Brentford. It also guarded the Thornea Ford, the Oldford of the Lea, and the eastern way to Camulodunum, the recently captured stronghold of the Catuvellauni, where a Roman garrison had been placed. Such seems to have been the origin of Londinium, which in less than twenty years was destined to become a flourishing centre, proving that its site had been judiciously chosen.

**Camp at Brentford.**—Reverting to the temporary camp at Brentford, what better location could have been selected for it than the level stretch lying between the Brent and the West Ealing brook, a mile above the fortified ford?<sup>2</sup> Here, until recent building operations covered the site, traces of the outline of such a camp could be seen, but recourse must now be had to the Ordnance Survey map (1893) on which will be noticed a curious deviation from the otherwise straight course of the boundary line dividing Hanwell from Ealing. Here by its turnings

<sup>1</sup> Polyænus wrote 140 years after the event, and the value of his work as an historical authority is very much diminished by the little judgment which the author evidently possessed, and by an ignorance of the sources from which he took his statements. "D. of Biography," Smith.

<sup>2</sup> The north of the plateau was protected by the depression caused by a small brook which then flowed into the Brent.



this line discloses in a remarkable degree the outline of over one half of a Roman field camp, marked along its western side from the northern to the southern portals by a bank with hedge and ditch. The eastern side of the camp has long been levelled by the plough, but the ancient trackway running north from the ford apparently indicates the margin of its extent from having to pass outside the earthwork and ditch. Here the width of the camp is 515 yards, and excluding the abutments for the portals, the length measures 585 yards, thus forming an oblong, but with rounded corners, just as Roman camps were laid out, and enclosing an area of about sixty-one acres<sup>1</sup> (see map).

**Caractacus.**—Though hardly within the scope of this work a reference to the subsequent career of Caractacus may be of interest.

When Plautius had overpowered the Catuvellauni "Caractacus with members of his family joined the Silures of South Wales, whom he inspired with confidence from his pre-eminence over all other British chieftains on account of his valour and many victories. This tribe for some years remained unsubdued, for neither the vigour nor clemency of the Roman general, or the establishment of a legionary garrison in their midst could force them to suspend hostilities. Ultimately the Silures were defeated by the Proprætor, Publius Ostorius, and Caractacus in A.D. 52 had to seek protection from Cartismandua, queen of the Brigantes (Yorkshire), but she delivered him to the Romans with whom she was in alliance. The fame of Caractacus had already reached Italy, where all longed to see the man who for nine years had defied the Roman arms. At Rome the citizens were summoned to see the rare spectacle of so illustrious a prisoner led captive through the streets, and for whom the Prætorian guards were ordered to parade under arms.

"First in the procession marched the servants and followers of the British King; next were borne his trappings and spoils won in tribal warfare; then came his wife, daughter, and brothers, and last the King, attracting the gaze of all. When the imperial stand was reached Caractacus with proud mien thus addressed the Emperor Claudius.

"If in prosperity my moderation had been as great as my lineage was noble and my successes brilliant, I should appear here rather as a friend than a captive. Then you would not have disdained to receive into alliance a prince of illustrious ancestry and ruler of many clans. My lot is now an ignominious one, yours is

<sup>1</sup> About the middle of the twelfth century a strip of land running north and south containing about 270 acres appears to have been severed from the Domesday Manor of Hanwell and added to the hamlet of Ealing in Fulham Manor. Thus the original eastern boundary of Hanwell was set back to its present line with the deviation round the western side of the camp. When the strip was cleared of original growth and became cultivated, the earthworks of the eastern half of the camp became an obstruction and would be levelled, but not so those on the western half, which survived, as they formed a length in the boundary line of a vill, manor, and hundred.

one of glory and triumph. I once possessed men and arms, horses and wealth, and is it a wonder that I endeavoured to keep them? If you Romans seek to subdue all mankind, it does not follow that all men desire your yoke. If you inflict punishment upon me the matter will soon be sunk in oblivion, but in preserving my life you will create an imperishable record of your clemency." On this the Emperor Claudius, to his lasting credit be it said, pardoned Caractacus and his family. Tacitus, *An.*, xii, 36, 37.

Such was the historic end of the last King of the Catuvellauni, of whose tribal area Middlesex formed a part.

## CHAPTER VIII

### ROMAN TIMES (PART I)

SECOND ROMAN INVASION—RISE OF LONDON—GOVERNMENT OF THE CATUVELLAUNIAN TERRITORY—BOADICEA'S INSURRECTION—SUETONIUS DEFEATS BOADICEA ON HAMPSTEAD HEATH—BATTLEFIELD IDENTIFIED—EARLY DEVELOPMENT OF THE CANTON—ROMAN MAIN ROADS THROUGH MIDDLESEX.

#### The Second Roman Invasion.

THE three and a half centuries of Roman dominion over Britain commenced A.D. 43, when the Emperor Claudius Caesar with an army under his general Aulus Plautius forced the passage of the lower Thames at Brentford, and thereby gained access to the interior of the country. The more historic victory of Julius Caesar in 54 B.C. at the same ford, followed by the capture of Verulamium had only resulted in Cassivellaunus giving hostages for the payment of tribute, and during the interval of ninety-seven years no Roman army had landed in Britain, though expeditions against it had been under consideration.<sup>1</sup> After his easy victory at Brentford, Claudius at once marched to Camulodunum (near Colchester) which must have soon fallen into the Emperor's hands, since he was able to return to Gaul after an absence of only sixteen days.<sup>2</sup> The Propraetor Plautius then

<sup>1</sup> In 30 B.C. Augustus was "about to war against the British because they would not enter into a treaty, when he was withholden by a revolt of the Salassi," Dion Cassius.—Horace in his "Prayer to Fortuna" begs that "She would keep Caesar who was about to go against the Britons," "Car.," 1, 35. Good relations seem to have continued, for Strabo writes, "At the present time, some of the princes (British) having by their embassies, and services, gained the friendship of Augustus Caesar, . . . and have brought the whole island into a state of little short of intimate union with the Romans. They bear moderate taxes on export into and import from Gaul."

Boadicea laments that they had permitted the Romans to land, and did not drive them far away, as we did that Julius Caesar, and had not made the very attempt to sail hither, terrible even at a distance from our shores, as we did to Augustus and Caligula. Xiphiline, "Mon. Hist. Brit.," lvi.

<sup>2</sup> Had it not been for its mineral wealth, the addition of outlying Britain to the Roman Empire might never have been undertaken by Claudius. Within a few years lead was being mined, for pigs of that metal have been found near the Mendip hills bearing the names of Claudius (A.D. 41-55) and of his son Britannicus.

"Tin to the ancient was one of the most valuable of metals, for from its admixture with copper, previous to the introduction of iron, were made the tools and weapons of antiquity. When Claudius therefore obtained by conquest the whole of Southern Britain he would

resumed the command of the army, which consisted of the following legions: The II Augusta: The IX Hispania: The XIV Gemina Martia: The XX Valeria Victrix: together with auxiliary troops, cavalry, and an elephant corps, in all perhaps 25,000 men. With this powerful and disciplined force the Roman General overran the territory of the Catuvellauni, and dethroned Caractacus as already described. During the next four years Plautius with the legate Vespasian—afterwards Emperor—was chiefly engaged in subduing the south-western district of Britain, which he is said to have governed with vigour and success.

**The Rise of London.**—The origin of London as a Roman settlement within the territory of the Catuvellauni may be ascribed to Aulus Plautius. After forcing the passage of the lower Thames at Brentford, the first temporary base for his large train of military supplies, which included elephants, would naturally be placed upon the table land above the great ford within that square camp covering sixty-one acres, lines of which have been described in the previous chapter. Later on the stores would be moved to a permanent entrenchment on a low lying dun rising from the Thames, and conveniently situated near the British main chariot ways, from Brentford, via Old Ford on the Lea to the Roman outpost just established at Colchester; and from the Thornea island ford (Westminster) to Verulamium. This entrenchment (Londinium) was by nature protected by streams; to the west by the Wallbrook, near the Mansion House, and by the Fleet river: on the east spread the Lea with its broad marshes; while its south side was washed by the Thames, which also served as a port for vessels bringing supplies from the Continent. Around the entrenchment, but separated from it by a clear space, there first arose the usual *canaba*, or civil settlement composed of camp followers, merchants, and civilian settlers. Next it would acquire to an ever increasing extent the features of a town, with a civil organization under which public buildings, theatres, and porticoes might exist, and in course of time full municipal rights would follow on the supersession of the military by civil administration.<sup>1</sup> In the earliest days of the occupation, when the Imperial officials assigned the Northern Thames district to constitute the *territoria* of a canton, they had also to select within it a town site which would serve both as the seat of local administration and as a place of refuge in troublesome times. They would naturally adopt Londinium, and so advantageous was

necessarily secure possession of the tin mines of Cornwall and Devon, and thus, with those in Iberia, was master of all the known sources of supply. . . . From the time of Claudius to that of Hadrian the material of the bronze coinage is of improved quality, the bronze being much finer and composed almost entirely of copper and tin. . . ." W. S. Ogden, "Brit. Numis. Jour.," v, 30.

<sup>1</sup> "The Municipalities of the Roman Empire," Reid. See also Tacitus, "Agricola," 21.



its position, that in the course of eighteen years, it had, as Tacitus records, become "a city not indeed signalized by the title of *colonia*," i.e., with full municipal rights, "but very much frequented by many merchants and ships that enter its port." By the construction of a causeway across the Southwark marsh by Newington Church, to connect with the regular route to Dover, a saving of sixteen miles was effected by travellers no longer having to cross by the great ford higher up the Thames at Brentford.

The organization of conquered territory in Britain was settled by the *propraetor* or governor, who was supreme in both civil and military matters, and about A.D. 50 a portion of the *Civitas Catuvellaunorum* was assigned for the planting of a military colony with its headquarters at Colchester near Camulodunum, and known as *Colonia Claudia*, or *Colonia Victrix*. Ten years later the British town of Verulamium with a district around it was constituted a *municipium*, and these two capitals existed throughout the Roman period. Another portion of the tribal *Civitas* embracing Middlesex, parts of South Essex, and of Herts (south of the Colne, and not within the *municipium*), also Bucks up to the Chiltern range, may have formed a *prefectura*, an original form of government in Roman provinces<sup>1</sup> presided over by a *Prefectus*, an official appointed to administer the law, and who here doubtless was stationed at Londinium.<sup>2</sup> The collection of taxes and the fiscal arrangements of the province, since Britain was an Imperial and not a Senatorial possession, were placed under the immediate control of a *Procurator Caesaris*.<sup>3</sup> It is, however, quite possible that the Londinium canton or *civitas*, may have been subsequently advanced to the full municipal franchise, and so have obtained the dignity of a *colonia*. This may have occurred towards the middle of the fourth century when Londinium was for a time known as *Augusta*.<sup>4</sup> Some evidence of this is afforded from local place names: thus, Colney Hatch, the entrance to the forest lands attached to the *colonia*; the river Ux marking its northern borders, became known as the Colne;<sup>5</sup> while in the same

<sup>1</sup> Towards the end of the second century Britain was divided by Severus with an upper and lower province, and by Diocletian into four, ultimately forming a Diocese in the Prefecture of the Gauls. The *civitas* of the *Catuvellauni* lay probably within the province of *Britannia Prima*, since Cirencester, from an inscription found there, was situated within it.

<sup>2</sup> Complete agreement on the relation of the terms *Colonia*, *Municipium* and *Prefectura* has not yet been arrived at. The latter seems to have been a *Municipium sine suffragio*, but when a *civitas* received the full franchise, it gained therewith the right of electing its own magistrates and ceased to be a *Prefectura*. "*Colonia*," *Diet. of Antq.*, 483, Smith.

<sup>3</sup> Augustus Caesar made considerable changes in the administration of the provinces of the Empire, the control of some of which he reserved absolutely to himself—*Propriae Caesaris*, the rest being under the nominal management of the Senate—*Propriae Populi Romani*. Britain was included in the former category. "*Provincia*," *Diet. of Antq.*, Smith.

<sup>4</sup> Theodosius—"ab Augusta profectus quam veteres adpellare Londinium"—Amiano Marcellinus, "*Mon. Hist. Brit.*," lxxiv.

<sup>5</sup> The river through the *Colonia Claudia*, as well as two others in the Romanized districts of Britain bear this name.

district are also to be found London Colney; Colney Street; Colney Heath, and Broad Colney.

**Boadicea's Insurrection.**—Until the arrival in A.D. 61 of Suetonius Paulinus, an able and energetic Proprætor, there is no record of any insurrection by the Catuvellauni, who appear to have submitted to their fate; but stirring times were now to follow: "Never," says Tacitus, "at any other time was Britain more agitated or distracted," for the subdued tribes were seething with discontent, mainly on account of the sudden calling in for repayment of the large loans which their imprudent chieftains had contracted with the Roman money lenders (*negociatores*) and of the harsh measures taken by Decianus Catus, the Imperial Procurator, to enforce payment. The discontent of another British tribe was thus summed up: "There was nothing to gain by submission, except that more intolerable exactions than ever would result from their patient endurance. They used to have one King for each nation, now two were imposed, one of whom, the Governor, tyrannized over their lives, the other, the Procurator, over their property. . . ."<sup>1</sup>

In the neighbouring district (Norfolk and Suffolk) the Iceni under Boadicea their Queen rose in revolt, and being joined by the tribesmen in Essex overran the Colonia Claudia, and stormed its newly established seat of local government at Colchester.<sup>2</sup> The Roman citizens were put to the sword as well as the men of the IX legion (Hispania), which had been sent to their assistance, its legate, Cerialis, with some cavalry alone escaping. Soon afterwards the Municipal town of Verulamium suffered the same fate, for Suetonius was away conducting a victorious campaign in Anglesea when tidings of the insurrection reached him. Accompanied by some cavalry "he hastened to London with amazing perseverance," having ordered the army to follow, and the II Legion (Augusta) with the Prefect Postumus stationed at Monmouth also to join him.<sup>3</sup>

Meanwhile Boadicea awaited events, possibly using as her headquarters the British encampment at Ambresbury Bank (Epping Forest), while calling upon the Trinovantes and other disaffected tribesmen "who, not yet broken by the yoke of servitude, had secretly covenanted to recover their liberty" to complete the overthrow of the Romans.<sup>4</sup> This famous British queen, under whose leadership 120,000 tribesmen(?) had united to defeat the hated Romans is thus described by Xiphiline:

<sup>1</sup> Tacitus, "Agricola," 15.

<sup>2</sup> "The Trinovantes beneath the standard of a woman had power to burn a colony and storm a camp," *idem*, 31.

<sup>3</sup> Caerleon (Isca Silurum) was always their headquarters. Numerous triangular tiles stamped in clear cut letters, Legion II, Aug., have been unearthed *inter alia* at Caerleon, by the Liverpool Antiquarian Society.

<sup>4</sup> Tacitus, "Annals," xiv, 31.

"Boadicea (Boudicca), who was deemed worthy to command them, and who led them in every battle, a Briton of royal race, and breathing more than female spirit, . . . She was of the largest size, most terrible of aspect, most savage of countenance, and harsh of voice, having a profusion of yellow hair which fell down to her hips, and wearing a large golden collar. She had on a parti-coloured flowing vest drawn close about her bosom, and over this she wore a thick mantle connected by a clasp; such was her usual dress, but at this time she also bore a spear."<sup>1</sup>

Suetonius, on his arrival at Londinium, then unprotected by the stone wall which was built, so it is considered, nearly three centuries later, concluded that, in order to save the province, he must abandon the town and meet his foes in the open. He accordingly beat a retreat, which must have been a perilous task, for he was encumbered with many of the townfolk, and, besides his bodyguard which had accompanied him from North Wales, had only the cavalry of the late IX Legion with some auxiliaries and details called up from neighbouring outposts. Now the plan of Suetonius was to effect a junction with the XIV Legion and the veterans of the XX, then hastening from Anglesea to his aid up the north-west chariotway *via* Verulamium. Having regard to the vast extent of woodland which then covered the heavy soil in northern Middlesex, the only open space on the north of London naturally free from forest growth, where the Roman general, from behind a rampart, could in any safety await the arrivals of his forces, lay five miles distant upon the heights of Hampstead (400 feet) which were then covered by a sandy heath about 650 acres in extent.<sup>2</sup>

<sup>1</sup> John Xiphiline in the 12th cent., abridged the histories of Dion Cassius who was born A.D. 150. Much of whose work is lost. From prejudice against an enemy of Rome, a doubtless handsome Queen has been thus described by Dion, "Mon. Hist. Brit.," lvi.

<sup>2</sup> The British way from the Thornea ford to Verulamium led by Hampstead, Hendon, and Brockley hills. When the Romans established regular communication between their port, the town of London, and the north west through the Municipal town of Verulamium, the distance between those two towns would be shortened by a cut direct from London into the old way at Hampstead. This would follow up the course of the river Fleet (a channel covered with shallow water at high tide), past Battlebridge (by the G.N. Station, St. Pancras), thence on by Haverstock Hill and Hampstead Heath. Norden, who had resided at Hendon, wrote in 1596 (Spec. Britt. Middx.): "Another way led to Edgworth and so to St. Albans was over Hampstead Heath, thence to and through an old lane called Hendon waste near Hendon, through which it passed to Edgworth, whence over Brockley hills by Radnet, Colney Street, leaving St. Albans half a mile to the east," and therefore through Verulamium.

It is difficult to compute the area of the plateau of Bagshot sand forming Hampstead Heath, owing to the irregularity of its contour along the spurs of the hill. On the south of a line drawn between Spaniards' Inn to the uppermost Highgate pond, the heath extended approximately over 650 acres, having a depth of sand ranging from six to a maximum of eighty feet. Below the sand and extending a furlong or two beyond it, like a belt around the slopes of the hill, is a strata of Upper London sandy clay, covering a further 550 acres. Surrounding this lies the clay which in British times was covered with heavy woodland



Away to the north for many a mile stretched the dense primeval forest of Middlesex which guarded his rear,<sup>1</sup> while his flanks were protected by the east and west slopes of the hill. Suetonius would therefore hesitate to leave this strong position on high ground and retreat by the British chariot way through the forest, where his cavalry and auxiliaries would be of little use to protect the straggling line of refugees from the surprises and hidden attacks of local Catuvellauni familiar with every mile of the woodland way.

Meanwhile Boadicea, with a host of tribesmen assembled under her standard, made a fatal mistake in not at once proceeding to attack Suetonius before the arrival of his legions from North Wales. Instead of which, influenced by the desire of obtaining more plunder, on entering Middlesex she advanced upon undefended Londinium, and there "slaughtered, hung, burnt, or crucified all who had remained there, whether from weakness of sex, old age, or the attractions of the place."<sup>2</sup> Elated with this further success, the Queen now started to pursue the Roman general at whose hands she was destined to be defeated in the most decisive and bloody battle ever fought in Britain. Where this engagement took place has not hitherto been determined, but after careful consideration of the description of the site given by Tacitus, it can be claimed that this celebrated battle occurred in Middlesex, and on what is now known as Hampstead Heath, for there was then no other place open by nature in the district around where so many thousands of men could manœuvre and meet.

**Suetonius defeats Boadicea at Hampstead.**—On the arrival of his troops from North Wales, Suetonius had a force of nearly 10,000 men, which would have been considerably increased had Postumus obeyed orders and brought up the II. Legion from South Wales by the Icknield way. Without any further delay the Roman General, according to Tacitus, prepared for a regular battle, choosing a position enclosed to his rear by a wood, and since it could only be approached through narrow ravines (*artis faucibus*) he was satisfied from the precautions taken that he would only be open to a frontal attack by the enemy, as there was no reason to fear an ambushade, since the plain (*planitiem*) afforded no cover, the general drew up his legionary forces in close order, placing the light armed troops outside them, with the cavalry massed on either wing.

growth. A portion of the heath rises above the 400 feet contour, the remainder of the 1,200 acres being within that of the 300 feet line. The surface of the heath has greatly changed from what it was eighteen centuries ago, vast quantities of sand having been removed. In 1811 alone no less than 7,000 loads were carried away. "Unequal Assessments," 1811.

<sup>1</sup> A remnant of the forest can still be found in a woodland strip known as Bishopswood lying close to the north side of the heath.

<sup>2</sup> Tacitus states that 70,000 persons were estimated to have perished at the hands of the British under Boadicea in the destruction of the three towns, viz., Camulodunum, Verulamium, and Londinium, all within the former territory of the Catuvellauni.



The British, in detached troops and companies of horse and foot, were rapidly moving in all directions, and in greater numbers than at any previous battle. So confident were they of gaining the victory that they had placed their wives in wagons ranged around the edge of the heath (*campus*) to witness their success. Boadicea, with her two daughters, drove in a chariot round the field of battle, exhorting each tribe to conquer or to perish in the conflict. Suetonius likewise addressed his troops, saying that while he trusted their bravery he would exhort and entreat them to despise the menaces of the tribesmen. . . . They were to keep their ranks and discharge their javelins, and then with shield and sword follow up the work of havoc and carnage without any thought of spoil, for when the victory was won everything would fall into their hands.

In confident anticipation of the issue Suetonius then gave the signal for battle.

The legionary troops as ordered did not move from the cover behind the narrow ravines facing their position and which protected them like a rampart, until they had hurled all their javelins into the ranks of the enemy when they had come to close quarters. Then the Romans advanced in a formation shaped like a wedge, being well supported by the auxiliary troops, while the cavalry using their lances charged and broke through everything which afforded any obstacle for resistance. . . . The rest of the Britons now turned to flee, but it was not easy for them to escape on account of the enclosure made by their wagons, and which obstructed their flight. "They were taken in the woods and by the wagons."<sup>1</sup> "The soldiers spared not even the lives of the women, while the beasts pierced with darts helped to swell the heaps of the slain. The glory gained that day was great, and equal to the victories in the olden times. Indeed there are some who declare that nearly 80,000 (?) British perished, while on our side about 400, with a little more than the same number of wounded. Boadicea ended her life by poison,<sup>2</sup> and Postumus, the camp prefect of the II legion . . . who had disobeyed his general's orders, ran himself through with his sword. . . . The whole army was then united and kept under tents in order to finish the war,"<sup>3</sup> for some still continued in arms.

<sup>1</sup> Xiphiline, "Mon. Hist. Brit.," lix.

<sup>2</sup> Her body was interred with great solemnity by the British who then dispersed. "Dic. of Gr. and Roman My. and Biog.," Smith. Xiphiline, however, says that about this time Boadicea dying by disease, they bewailed her sorely, and buried her with great funereal splendour. It has been supposed that the Highgate barrow on the north of Parliament Hill was the tomb of Boadicea. It is a circular mound surrounded at 20 feet distant by a ditch of the same width. On being opened in 1895 it was found to contain charcoal. "Mx. and Herts., N. and Q.," i, 4 and 6. This indicated that it was a *botontinus* or boundary mark of a *pagus* placed there by the Roman State surveyors towards the end of the first century, the corresponding mark to the south being the tothill at Westminster, of which St. Ermins' Hotel now marks the site. See article by the writer in "The Builder," Dec. 1911.

<sup>3</sup> Tacitus, "An.," xiv, 37, 38.

**Battlefield Identified.**—Now the ancient sandy heathland at Hampstead exactly answers the above description of the battlefield, and the passages which assist in proving its identity have been underlined for the purpose of comparison.

Suetonius, it will be remembered, was waiting for his troops, then hastening up the north-west trackway, which between Verulamium and the open heath ran through twelve or more miles of forest. The position of his forces when drawn up for battle was at the northern end of the heath (Spaniards' Inn) *since his rear was protected by this forest*, with either flank only *open to approach by the steep and narrow ravines* between the spurs of Hampstead hill.<sup>1</sup> . . . On the summit lay an extensive sandy plain naturally *free of any heavy timber growth which could afford cover to an ambuscade*, while around its southern border on the belt of sand and clay where some tree growth would commence, were ranged the lines of British wagons.

The Roman soldiers were drawn up in close order along the tops of shallow watercourse ravines in the sandy ground which intersected the *plain* towards its northern end, and these *afforded them the protection of a rampart* when the British rushed into the ravines and vainly threw themselves against the solid ranks of soldiers lining the top of the opposite inclines. Here the tribesmen must have suffered terribly from the javelins hurled downwards at close quarters with deadly effect into the surging masses: "for the swords of the British being unpointed admitted of no collision or hand to hand encounter."<sup>2</sup> On the general advance being ordered the Roman infantry, marching in a formation shaped like a wedge, forced the tribesmen back across the heath upon their crescent line of wagons, where in helpless confusion they were mercilessly slain.<sup>3</sup> The rout became complete when the cavalry posted on the east and west wings of the infantry charged the British, escaping either on the south-west to the Thorneaford trackway, or down the eastern slope by the way past Haverstock hill and across the Oldburne, along which they had so recently passed in triumph, and

<sup>1</sup> Formed by the two headwater arms of the Oldbourne or Fleet river.

<sup>2</sup> Tacitus, "Agricola," 36.

<sup>3</sup> Battle Bridge by King's Cross Railway Station, has been suggested as the site of this engagement, and Howitt adopts this view in his "Northern Heights of London, Hampstead and Highgate," 1869, p. 513. Here, however, the soil is not sandy, and there was neither natural heath, nor any open plain sufficient for the movements of such a number of combatants. Again, the site does not agree with the description given by Tacitus. Lloyd in his "History of Highgate," 1888, p. 8, saw the objection to the Battle Bridge site, and suggests "the valley between the hills of Highgate and Hampstead backed by the forest and almost on the lines of the great military roads." This bloody battle was fought on a large open plain, and not amidst the primeval woodland growth on the heavy soil of this valley. The name "Battle Bridge," may have originated from an engagement by William the Conqueror at the bridge over the Fleet when marching from Herts upon London (see William of Jumièges) or in a conflict with the Danes when besieging the town, or earlier still in A.D. 368, when the Picts and Scots were repelled by the Romans under the Count Theodosius.

laden with the spoils of Londinium. The 80,000 slain probably included the tribesmen who were afterwards killed before the insurrection was stamped out, for the "army was kept under tents in order to finish the remains of the war," though even then the number of those who fell was probably exaggerated for the glorification of the Roman army.

**Early Development of the Canton.**—So far as can be inferred in the absence of historical accounts after the insurrection under Boadicea had been quelled, the Catuvellauni did not offer any further resistance to the power of Rome. Twenty years had now passed since the landing of Plautius, and a new generation had grown up, who from contact with their conquerors had become familiar with their manners and customs, and having also "learned by the seduction of luxury to become forgiving" were now more reconciled to their subjection. A better understanding with the tribes had also been established through the conciliatory policy adopted by Trebellius Maximus (Propraetor A.D. 63-9), who though "lacking in military experience governed the province by the peculiar gentleness of his administration." But the real settlement of the Londinium canton, after it had probably been apportioned and laid out under Julius Frontinus (Propraetor A.D. 74-78), a great authority on land surveying, may be said to have commenced under the wise and capable government of Julius Agricola (Propraetor A.D. 78-85) who "introduced among the natives the language and civilization of Rome."<sup>1</sup>

From other passages, it is clear that the Britons were compelled to undertake works of public utility, and to open up the land for settlement, by the construction of roads through forests and fens, while Agricola himself explored the estuaries and woodlands of the country. Those of the Catuvellauni who dwelt in what is now Middlesex would, when peace was established, be among the first to be influenced by the methods and ways of the Romans, who were constantly

<sup>1</sup> In his determination to remove all sources of provocation to rebellion, he re-organized his personal staff as well as that of the provincial service, no longer entrusting public affairs to freed men or to slaves. He also reduced the weight of increasing taxation by the impartiality of its assessment, and by the abolition of all devices for private emolument, as well as the abuses connected with the sale and purchase of corn. After effecting these reforms and obtaining peace by showing mercy, he adopted the most beneficial means to train an unsettled and uncivilized people in the paths of peace and inaction, and also encouraged them by public assistance to erect buildings and temples. Agricola caused the sons of the chieftains to be educated in all liberal accomplishments, so that those who had hitherto rejected the Roman language now became ambitious to use this more eloquent style of speech. Thence arose a general desire to adopt the dress of the Romans, and their more refined ways of luxurious dissipation, the enjoyment of the baths and elaborate entertainments: all of which, while called the civilization of an ignorant people, was in reality a means of their enslavement. Under this policy Agricola induced many of the States to abandon their hostility, with the result that a better understanding grew up between the tribesmen and their conquerors. Tacitus, "*Agricola*," 16, 19, 20, 21, 31.



passing through Londinium, the principal port and commercial centre of the country.<sup>1</sup> The fertile lands of the natives along the Thames Valley would become one of the earlier districts for colonization and development under the Roman system of agricultural holdings.

**Roman Main Roads in Middlesex.**—To extend the cultivated patches of the British inhabitants, and to reduce primitive soil into a state of culture would first necessitate the planning, surveying, and laying out of network of rural ways giving access within each district (*pagus*) of the Canton.<sup>2</sup> This would be in addition to and independent of the construction of direct main lines of communication between the principal towns of Britain, and three of these great highways passed through the Middlesex area. The first of these main roads here distinguished as Tamesis Street<sup>3</sup> ran from Calleva of the Atrebates (Silchester) the junction of roads from Winchester, Salisbury, Bath, Cirencester, and Alchester, and crossed the Thames at Staines (Pontes).<sup>4</sup> It then continued in a straight line over Hounslow heath, through the tidal ford of the Brent (Brentford), and the Stamford (Stan-ford) brook (Chiswick) to the top of Notting hill. Here the Roman engineers altered its direction two degrees to the south, and its course is generally represented by Oxford Street and Theobald's Road. After crossing the "Old bourne" the tidal river Fleet (whence a branch way connected with the town of Londinium) and then Ermine Street, the route to the north-east from that town, Tamesis Street led by what is now called "Roman road" to the "Old ford" of the Lea. The site of this ford is known from the discovery of large lumps of the "Herring bone pattern" pavement in the bed of the river just below the present Old Ford lock.<sup>5</sup> This information was kindly supplied to the writer in 1906 by the Secretary to the Lea Conservancy. Tamesis Street then passed through the Essex portion of the Londinium canton, and on to Colchester the mother town of the Colonia Claudia.

<sup>1</sup> In later years "Expeditions of all kinds perpetually enter it (Britain) and return at convenient seasons. Thousands also of nobles and private persons frequently go over thither." Aristides (*circa* A.D. 160) "Mon. Hist. Brit.," xciii. This refers perhaps to a subsequent period.

<sup>2</sup> These undertakings will be considered in the next chapter.

<sup>3</sup> The name of this important road from Silchester to Colchester is unknown. The "Imperial Way" has been suggested for its name, but "Tamesis Street" would be more appropriate, since the course of the road lay principally within the watershed of the Thames, and is herein adopted.

<sup>4</sup> Pontes, from the bridges constructed by the Romans over the Thames and Colne, later on called Stanes (Staines), and with Stanwell, the parish adjoining, from the stone paved way carrying the road through the marsh land where the mouths of the Colne joined the Thames.

<sup>5</sup> The position of this road between Holborn and Old Ford is discussed in a new view of Roman London, Reginald Smith, F.S.A., "Jour. R. S. Arts," 16th Dec. 1910.



At Brentford ten miles from Londinium, as well as at Staines nine miles further west, there must have been an inn (*mansio*) where wayfarers stayed for refreshment, or for the night, also a posting house (*mutatio*) for the changing of horses by travellers, or for the couriers of the Imperial postal system instituted by Augustus.<sup>1</sup>

Watling Street, the second main road, ran from the south-east ports through Kent, and probably in the first instance by a causeway over the Southwark marsh to Stangate on the Thames by St. Thomas's Hospital. Thence by a tidal ford to Thornea island (Westminster), and through more water to the Green Park. Its route then lay past a paginal boundary mark afterwards known as Oswulf's Stone, situated where the Marble Arch now stands. Here Watling Street crossed Tamesis Street, and then formed the route of the present Edgware Road<sup>2</sup> to Brockley Hill (*Sulloniacae*). Here, after making a turn, it led direct to Verulamium by St. Albans and thence to Chester (*Deva*) and the north west. When Roman London grew in importance, another causeway, as already mentioned, directly led across the Southwark marshes to Londinium, where, until a bridge just below the present bridge was built, travellers had to use a ferry.<sup>3</sup> Through traffic to the north-west would then pass through what is still called Watling Street (near the Mansion House) and down Oxford Street till the old route via Westminster was regained at Oswulf's Stone. A roadside inn and posting station were probably situated near Hyde Park Corner, and at *Sulloniacae* twelve miles out on the road.

The third main road, known as Ermine Street,<sup>4</sup> after leaving Londinium by Bishopsgate, soon crossed Tamesis Street, and proceeding northwards in a straight line through Tottenham, Enfield, and over Forty Hill entered Herts and continued to Braughling (*ad Fines*), probably on the eastern boundary of the Verulamium Municipium. Here the road was joined by three others, and from thence it led to Lincoln (*Lindum Colonia*). At Enfield, ten miles distant from London, and where the remains of both British and Roman habitation have been found, the traveller would doubtless obtain a change of horses and refreshments. Neither the names of the consular or the military authorities who ordered these provincial highways to be laid down, nor the dates when they were made are

<sup>1</sup> "Mansio," Smith's *Diet. of Antq.* Such places of call were distinguished then as now by signs, but "no language seems too contemptuous for the alleged dishonesty of keepers of inns." "Life in the Roman World," Tucker.

<sup>2</sup> A little north of the Marble Arch the Roman road had a paved breadth of 24 feet. "Home Counties Mag.," iv, 260.

<sup>3</sup> This shortened the distance over the old British route through the fortified ford of the Thames at Brentford, and avoided the inconvenient ford at Westminster.

<sup>4</sup> "The name Erminga Street, the street of the Ermings, or fenmen, must have been first given to that portion of the road which bordered on the fens, and then gradually applied to the whole line of road." Dr. Guest, "Arch. Jour.," xiv, 112.

known. All that can at present be said is that they were probably constructed with the aid of the natives and legionary troops after the Roman occupation of Britain had been well established. Where British tribal enclosures had been transformed into Roman encampments and towns, the new and direct line of communication between them laid down by the Imperial Engineers, while reducing the mileage often followed the direction of the earlier devious trackways. Thus in Middlesex the British way from Thornea ford by Hampstead, Hendon, and Brockley hills, was shortened by the construction of the Edgware Road section of Watling Street. Again, the native route from the great Thames ford to Old ford on the Lea, which mainly ran along the rising ground bordering the northern marshes of the winding Thames, was replaced by two straight sections of Tamesis Street. It is, however, worthy of note that during a subsequent period of sixteen centuries, the routes of through traffic have continued along these three Roman "streets" (*strata*, road with a hard surface) which to-day rank amongst the principal main highways of the Metropolitan County of Middlesex.<sup>1</sup>

<sup>1</sup> A full account with method of construction will be found in "Roman Roads in Britain" (with map), Codrington. See also "Roman Roads of Britain," Forbes and Burmester.

## CHAPTER IX

### OMAN TIMES (PART II)

THE ROMANIZATION OF THE DISTRICT—THE PAGUS—POSSESSA AND SALTUS—  
RURAL WAYS—LANDMARKS—PLACES OF PAGAN WORSHIP AND MIDDLESEX  
CHURCHES—COMPITALIA—PAGANALIA—SILVANUS—POLICY OF CHRISTIAN  
MISSIONARIES.

#### The Romanization of the Middlesex District.

WE will now consider the Roman system under which the county area was surveyed, divided, and planted with immigrants settled in village communities. For this research, which has not hitherto been attempted, there are several sources from which evidence can be obtained as to the extent of the Romano-British settlements within the quadrilateral known as Middlesex.

Such evidence would principally include:

- (a) Vestiges of Roman rural ways laid out in parallel courses, having in different divisions of the county, distinct and separate alignments.
- (b) Existing landmarks by the Roman Imperial Surveyors.
- (c) Indications that the sites of many Romano-British chapels are now marked by the mother churches of ancient parishes.
- (d) The general continuance through the Saxon era of the paginal divisions, and small land holdings in the village farms instituted by the Romans, as exemplified by the Domesday Survey.

When the Proprætor Agricola, who succeeded Julius Frontinus the eminent land surveyor, commenced the peaceful settlement of the Imperial Province of Britain about A.D. 78, primeval woods, wastes, and swamps covered the greater part of the Middlesex district. Its northern borders were enclosed by an extensive oak forest, and its three other sides were fringed with marshes which marked the courses of the Thames, Colne, and Lea, so that probably not more than one-sixth of this quadrilateral was under tillage by the Catuvellauni, whose fields and clearings lay scattered chiefly over the fertile valley of the Thames, and on the plateau to the west of the lower Brent.<sup>1</sup>

<sup>1</sup> Caesar, after describing his forcing the passage of the Thames, now known to have been at the Brentford shallows, refers to the *fields* and cattle of the inhabitants, "De Bello Gallico," v, 19.

Now it was a dictum of the Romans that "where they conquered, there they inhabited"; their practice being to plant settlers where the "axe and plough" of the natives had already opened up portions of the land. Hence, by many of the clearings of the Catuvellauni, Romano-British settlements arose; in the next age to become Saxon vills and tons, the extent and names of which, as given in the Domesday Survey of Middlesex, have in most instances survived to the present day, either in ancient parochial areas, or in manors. But the Romano-British designations are now unknown, with some few exceptions, such as "Londinium," "Sulloniacae" (Stanmore), "Pontes" (Staines, perhaps from bridges across the Tamesis and Colonia Rivers—Thames and Colne—carrying Tamesis Street, the great road of the Romans through South Western Britain).

Twenty years prior to the introduction by Agricola (A.D. 78-85) "of the language and civilization of Rome," a military colony (*Colonia Victricensis*) at Colchester, and a *Municipium* at Verulamium, had been established within the territory of the Catuvellauni. Another portion of their former tribal lands along the northern watershed of the Thames constituted the *Londinium Civitas* or Canton, being probably administered as a *Prefectura* with its official headquarters at Londinium, which by A.D. 61, as Tacitus states, had become known as a port and centre of trade.<sup>1</sup> The area under this administration was considerable. On the east it seems to have embraced South Essex, stretching perhaps as far as the later *Othona Castellum* (St. Peter's Head, Bradwell).<sup>2</sup> On the north it extended to the upper waters of the Lea and Colne, which rivers also marked the southern limits of the *Verulamium Municipium*, on the west to the Chiltern Hills, and on the south to the Thames.<sup>3</sup>

Under Roman law the ownership of the soil in a conquered province vested either in the Emperor (*manu Caesaris*) or in the Senate at Rome; the occupiers only enjoying the possession or usufruct from it.<sup>4</sup> As the province of Britain was in the former category, the collection of taxes was not under the control of the Quaestor, as in a senatorial province, but under that of a Procurator, an Imperial officer who also defrayed certain responsibilities undertaken by the Emperor, together with the costs of military defence, and the transport of troops; while

<sup>1</sup> The precise distinction between a Colonia, Municipium, and Prefectura is obscure. In any case, as soon as a Community received a full franchise, it gained therewith the right of electing its own magistrates, and ceased to be a Prefectura. See "Colonia," *Dict. of Antq.*, 483. "Existimamus meliore consitione esse Coloniae quam Municipia," Gellius, xv, 13.

<sup>2</sup> Built towards the end of the third century to prevent the landing of Saxon marauders. The extent of this castellary or pagus appears to be that of the subsequent Saxon Hundred of Dengie.

<sup>3</sup> There are reasons for concluding that the Canton in later years extended south of the Thames as far as the river Cray in Kent. This portion of the Londinium state was probably annexed to Kentland by the Jutes, about A.D. 457.

<sup>4</sup> Gaius, ii, 7.



the supreme command was in the Proprætor who was principally engaged with military and judicial matters.<sup>1</sup>

From the immigrants brought to Britain through the port at Londinium, many settlers would be distributed over the fertile lands of the Londinium Canton, and so in time the district, now known as Middlesex, would be one of the first to be settled and yield returns into the Imperial exchequer (*fiscus*) at Londinium, which also seems to have been the centre of the financial administration of Britain. "To the great island" (Britain) . . . expeditions of all kinds perpetually pass over and return at convenient seasons. Thousands also of noble and private persons frequently go over thither."<sup>2</sup>

**The Pagus.**—The boundaries of provincial cantons were mostly natural ones, such as the ridges of hills, and the courses of rivers, and were therefore irregular. So also were those of their *territoria* and *pagi*.<sup>3</sup> But within each *pagus* the portions surveyed for settlements and cultivation were rectangular in shape, and divided into a number of square areas (*possessae*) by cross parallel lines laid out by the Imperial Surveyors, probably when Julius Frontinus was Proprætor, A.D. 74-78. He was an eminent authority on land surveying, and it may be accepted that under his supervision and general direction, commenced the defining and laying out of *pagi* for Romano-British settlements in Middlesex and other parts of Britain.<sup>4</sup> As regards the making of these divisions it will suffice to say that a straight line (*decumanus maximus*) was first drawn eastwards and westwards across the *pagus*, and at an appropriate spot a similar line (*cardo maximus*) crossed the former at right angles. On either side of these two lines, a succession of parallels were laid out at distances of 612 Roman poles, equal to nine of our furlongs, the last in each of the four directions constituting the boundary lines (*finitima linea*) of the land marked out for settlement. These parallels were known as fifth lines (*limites quintarii*) because where requisite, four minor intervening and equidistant parallel lines could be added. In this way large rectangular tracts in each *pagus* were divided into squares like a gigantic chequer board; the quintarial lines creating the *possessae* (810 acres) and the intermediate lines the twenty-five smaller land areas known as *laterculi* or *centuriae* (31.155 acres), plus an area equal to one *centuria* to provide the necessary ways of access. For public

<sup>1</sup> The harsh measures of the Procurator Catus Decianus helped to raise the insurrection under Boadicea already described. He was succeeded by Julius Classicianus. See "Procurator," Dict. of Antq. The British complained that whilst formerly they had one king for each tribe, two were now imposed—the governor who tyrannized over their lives, and the procurator over their property. Tacitus, "Agricola," 15.

<sup>2</sup> Aristides, circa A.D. 160. "Mon. Hist. Brit.," xciii.

<sup>3</sup> "Grom. Vet.," 114.

<sup>4</sup> For his treatise on the subject with those of other early writers, see "Gromatici Veteres," by C. Lachman, Berlin, 1848, herein referred to as "Grom. Vet."

traffic, district ways (*viae*) were designed to be laid out upon the quintarial lines,<sup>1</sup> and any lanes or bye-ways (*deviae*) upon the intervening ones where necessary.

The *finitima linea*, or outmost survey line within a *pagus*, was marked by mounds of earth (*botontini*)<sup>2</sup> usually containing charcoal, broken crockery and other matter foreign to the spot, and the internal divisions by holes (*arcae*), stones, trenches (*fossae*), blazed trees, etc. The irregular waste outside the *pagi* and on the confines of the canton, such as the Chiltern Hills, was known as *ager arcifinius* or *occupatorius*; and that between the natural boundaries of the *pagi* and the *finitima linea* of the surveyed areas, as *ager extra clausus*.

Though the lay of the land and the fertility of its soil naturally went to determine the size of a *pagus*, the rectangular or *intra clausus* portions of the *pagi* in the Middlesex Domesday county hardly varied in size.<sup>3</sup> The three complete *pagi* contained respectively 50, 50, and 52 *possessae*, and 24 for half of the N.E. *pagus* (Adelmetone), for in Saxon times it was divided between Middlesex and Herts (see map). These square blocks of land formed by the crossings of the quintarial lines, are, it is believed, correctly shown, since they accord with (a) the several alignments of many of the surviving ancient ways in the county; (b) the Roman surveyors' landmarks still remaining; and (c) the sites of the pagan *compita* or rural chapels erected by the quintarial ways, which, in forty-seven instances are to-day indicated by the mother churches or parishes. We will now describe a *possessa*, and then deal with these three archaeological features.

**Possessa and Saltus.**—A *possessa* was the square block of land contained within four quintarial *limites*, of which the length was 612 Roman poles, equal to 1,980 yards. Its superficial area measured 1,300 *jugera*,<sup>4</sup> making twenty-five *laterculae* or *centuriae* formed in rows of five. When the land was in several occupation, the equivalent to a twenty-sixth *centuria* was used for providing ploughbalks, lanes, and ways in and about the other twenty-five *centuriae*, and when not so required, these strips for passage ways were thrown into the land upon which they bordered. The *saltus* contained 1,250 *jugera*,<sup>5</sup> and constituted the net area of land in the *possessa*, that is, the twenty-five *centuriae* without paths and ways. At the present day in the acreage of a parish is included both

<sup>1</sup> "A decumano maximo quintus quisque spatio itineris ampliaretur," "Grom. Vet.," 175. Mommsen observes that a *limes* was an artificial dividing or boundary line made by human beings, having sufficient width to carry a road or passage way.

<sup>2</sup> See illustrations of Botontini, *infra*.

<sup>3</sup> It appeared when drawing the map that each *pagus* consisted of two separated parts. Alternatively each part may have constituted a *pagus*, but having regard to the subsequent Hundredal divisions, the first view has been adopted.

<sup>4</sup> "Grom. Vet.," 110, "legimus . . . mille et trecenta jugera fuisse possessa."

<sup>5</sup> "Cum viginti et quinque centurias includant, saltus appellatur," "Grom. Vet.," 158.

that of its fields and highways, but while that of a field is measured to its road-side hedge, its owners' rights in the soil beneath the surface of the adjoining highway extend to half of its width (*ad medium filum viae*)—a relic of the Roman agrarian system now under consideration.

The distinction between a *possessa* and a *saltus* becomes of importance when the Middlesex Domesday measures are dealt with in a subsequent chapter, for that survey did not include road surface. Since this amounted to 4 per cent. of the County area, a true comparison between the ancient and modern surveys cannot be made without its inclusion—a point which has hitherto been overlooked. It will therefore be convenient to trace with the aid of the tables below how 14,544 Roman square poles, which went to *centuria* in Middlesex, could be evenly distributed over a *possessa* in paths, lanes, and ways.

The width of district ways was not great, for the breadth of Roman vehicles was about half that of those in modern use. This is shown by the wheel ruts in the pavement being only 3 feet apart, between the stepping stones across the streets of Pompeii.<sup>1</sup> Now the breadth of Watling Street, one of the Roman main thoroughfares across Britain, when disclosed near the Marble Arch in the county, was  $2\frac{1}{2}$  Roman poles, equal to 24 feet between the curbs.<sup>2</sup> In another part of Middlesex an undoubted Roman vicinal way averaged about 18 feet between its banks, which appeared to have remained practically undisturbed. The width of a quintarial *via* through the wooded lands in the Londinium Canton may therefore fairly be taken to have been fixed by the officials at 2 Roman poles, about 19.2 feet; and that of a *devia* at 1 Roman pole, or 9.6 feet,<sup>3</sup> quite sufficient for the narrow vehicles and flat sledges on which it seems agricultural produce was hauled.<sup>4</sup> But the aggregate width of these ways is shown by the difference in length between the side of a *possessa* with 612 Roman poles, and that of a *saltus* with 600 Roman poles, that is measured along the sides of five *centuriae* of land. It will, however, be more convenient to consider the superficial area of these agricultural ways, and in order to show how they absorbed 50 *jugera*, or 14,544 Roman square poles, some further particulars are necessary. We will first take the *actus quadratus*, a small measure of land containing 144 Roman sq. p.,

<sup>1</sup> "Via," Dict. of Antq., Smith.

<sup>2</sup> During centuries of Saxon neglect this road had become overgrown with bushes and trees, which accounts for the Roman pavement being found several feet below the present surface. Beneath two feet of wood paving, concrete, and brick rubbish, and four inches of black soil the Roman work gives; boulders and lime grouting, 1 foot, rammed reddish gravel 1 foot, clays and flints, the original formation,  $4\frac{1}{2}$  feet, "Home Counties Mag.," iv, 259.

At the Middlesex Guildhall there is a specimen of a dwarf wall of gravel concrete, one of many found further north along this road when the County tramway was laid.

<sup>3</sup> Quintarios autem et subruncivos . . . patentes non minus tamen quam qua vehiculo iter agit possit. "Grom. Vet.," 120. See also "Our Roman Highways," Forbes, 75.

<sup>4</sup> Presumably used when the ground was too soft to withstand the pressure of wheels.



traditionally derived from the length of a furrow made by a plough team of oxen. The yoking together (*juga*, a yoke) of two square *actus* made the well known *jugerum*,<sup>1</sup> an oblong plot, the subsequent Saxon half acre, and equal to about five-eighths of our statute acre. Next in ascent came the *laterculus*, an early form of a Roman *centuria*, a square piece of land having a side of 120 R. p., and containing 100 *actus*, or 50 *jugera*. To lay out this *centuria* of land which was used in Britain, in fifty plots each of one *jugerum* (*ager jugarius*), as a common arable field in a village settlement, it would be divided into ten equal strips, each strip into five plots, and with eight plough balks or paths, four each way, to provide access to every plot. Taking .3 Roman poles (2 feet 10.9 inches) to have been the width for the paths, then a side of this allotment field (120 R. p.) plus the widths of four internal paths,<sup>2</sup> would extend to 121.2 R. p. The superficial area of eight paths, four each way less overlaps, would therefore be 289.44 Roman sq. p., and similarly for the paths in 25 *centuriae*, 7,236 Roman sq. p. Next, since each of the 25 *centuriae* might require its means of approach, provision within the *possessa* for eight lanes (1 by 610 R. p.) four each way, had to be laid out,<sup>3</sup> and these, less sixteen overlaps, would absorb 4,864 Roman sq. p. Lastly, the remaining 2,444 R. sq. p. would provide one-half of the width of the four surrounding quinterial ways,<sup>4</sup> marking the extreme bounds of the *possessa*, and making in all a total of 14,544 Roman square poles, the provision for means of access—see Table III overleaf.

Such appears to have been the Roman standard of mensuration in the Middlesex area, though naturally only the portions of land under cultivation would require the minor divisions above described. Therefore, when computing the gross area of the surveyed portion of a Roman *pagus* in the Middlesex district, an amount equal to 1-25th of 788.886 acres, or 1 *centuria* to every 25, must be added to each *saltus* for roads and paths to make a *possessa* with 810 acres.

<sup>1</sup> An amount ploughed by a team of oxen in one day. Plin., xviii, 9.

<sup>2</sup> The width of an ordinary field foot-path is *prima facie* 3 feet.

<sup>3</sup> That is, 121.2, R. p.,  $\times 5$ , + 1 R. p.,  $\times 4$  ways = 610—"Limitisquae inter centurias itineri publico inserviunt." "Lex. Thoria.," Zell., 235.

<sup>4</sup> The surface area of public ways leading from one settlement to another was not included in the assignment of land, though its occupiers apparently, under the supervision of the *Magister Pagi*, had to keep in repair their respective lengths of the way up to the centre line (*ad medium flum. viae*). In quibusdam regionibus cum limites patere juberunt modus eorum limitum in adsignationem non venit," "Grom. Vet.," 120. During the later Roman period, the agricultural traffic in parts of Middlesex must have been heavy, since there are fourteen ancient rural ways which still bear the name of "street" (*strata*) from formerly having been surfaced with stones.



## TABLES OF ROMAN MEASURES REFERRED TO ABOVE

## I.—LENGTH.

|           |   |                    |          |             |
|-----------|---|--------------------|----------|-------------|
| 1 R. pole | = | 10 R. feet         | equal to | 3.236 Yards |
| 12 „ „    | = | 1 Actus            | „        | 38.832 „    |
| 120 „ „   | = | 1 Centuria—side of | „        | 388.32 „    |
| 600 „ „   | = | 5 Centuriae        | „ „      | 1941.60 „   |
| 612 „ „   | = | 1 Possessa         | „ (a) „  | 1980.432 „  |

(a) Including width of ways.

## II.—SURFACE.

|             |   |                           |          |              |
|-------------|---|---------------------------|----------|--------------|
| 1 Actus—sq. | = | 144 R. sq. poles          | equal to | .311544 Acre |
| 1 Jugerum   | = | 288 „ „                   | „        | .6231 „      |
| 50 Jugera   | = | 1 Centuria                | „        | 31.155 „     |
| 1250 „      | = | 25 Centuriae or 1 Saltus  | „        | 778.875 „    |
| 1300 „      | = | 1 Possessa including ways | „        | 810.03 „     |

## III.—DIVISIONS OF A POSSESSA.

|                             |   | R. Poles.             |          | R. Sq.P.      | R. Sq.         |
|-----------------------------|---|-----------------------|----------|---------------|----------------|
| 1 Possessa                  | = | 612 × 612             | equal to |               | <u>374,544</u> |
| 25 Centuriae or 1 Saltus    | = | 120 × 120 × 25        | „        | 360,000       |                |
| <i>Ways about a Saltus</i>  |   |                       |          |               | 360,000        |
| 8 Paths in each Centuria    | = | 121.2 × 0.3 × 8 × 25* | „        | 7,236         |                |
| 8 Lanes between Centuriae   | = | 610 × 1.0 × 8*        | „        | 4,864         |                |
| 4 Quintarial Ways (½ width) | = | 612 × 1.0 × 4*        | „        | 2,444         |                |
|                             |   |                       |          | <u>14,544</u> | <u>14,54</u>   |
| * Less overlaps.            |   |                       |          |               | <u>374,544</u> |

Where any way was not required, its area was added to the land. Table III approximately shows the standard adopted in the Canton for allocating 14,544 R. Sq. P. in ways, lanes, paths, or plough balks to every 25 centuriae of assigned lands.

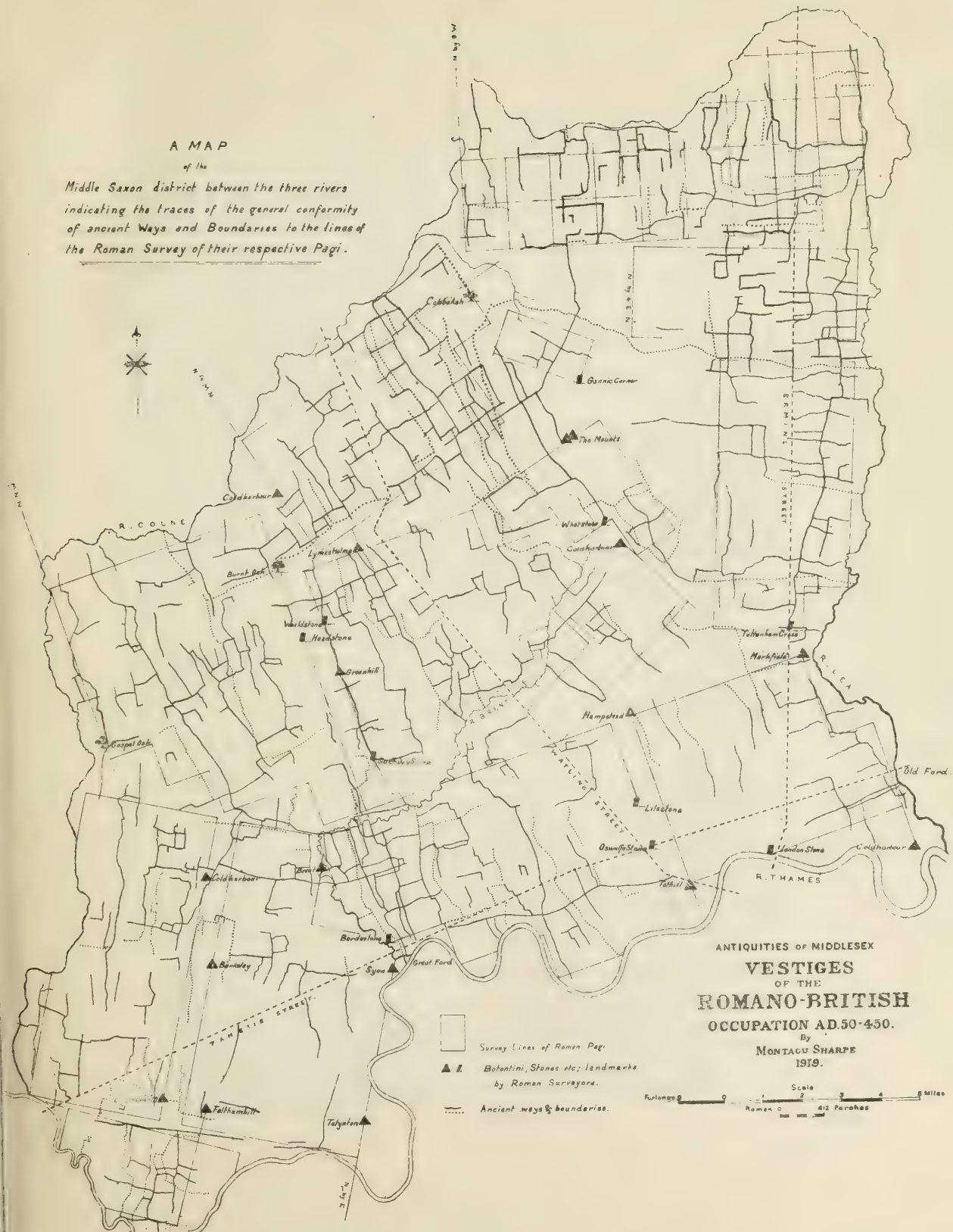
**Rural Ways.**—The ancient ways and bounds shown in the diagram were taken from the Index Ordnance map of the County, and from that drawn by Rocque in 1775, probably the first survey of Middlesex to be scientifically undertaken since the Roman era. This rare map shows the villages unenclosed just as they had remained for centuries, besides including many rural features which have since been obliterated by Enclosure awards, and by the hand of the builder. On the diagram it will be noticed that the local roads in the eastern division run due north and south: in the large central district from north-north-west to south-south-east; in the south-western portion from north by east to south by west; and that in all three instances they are crossed at right angles by other ways.

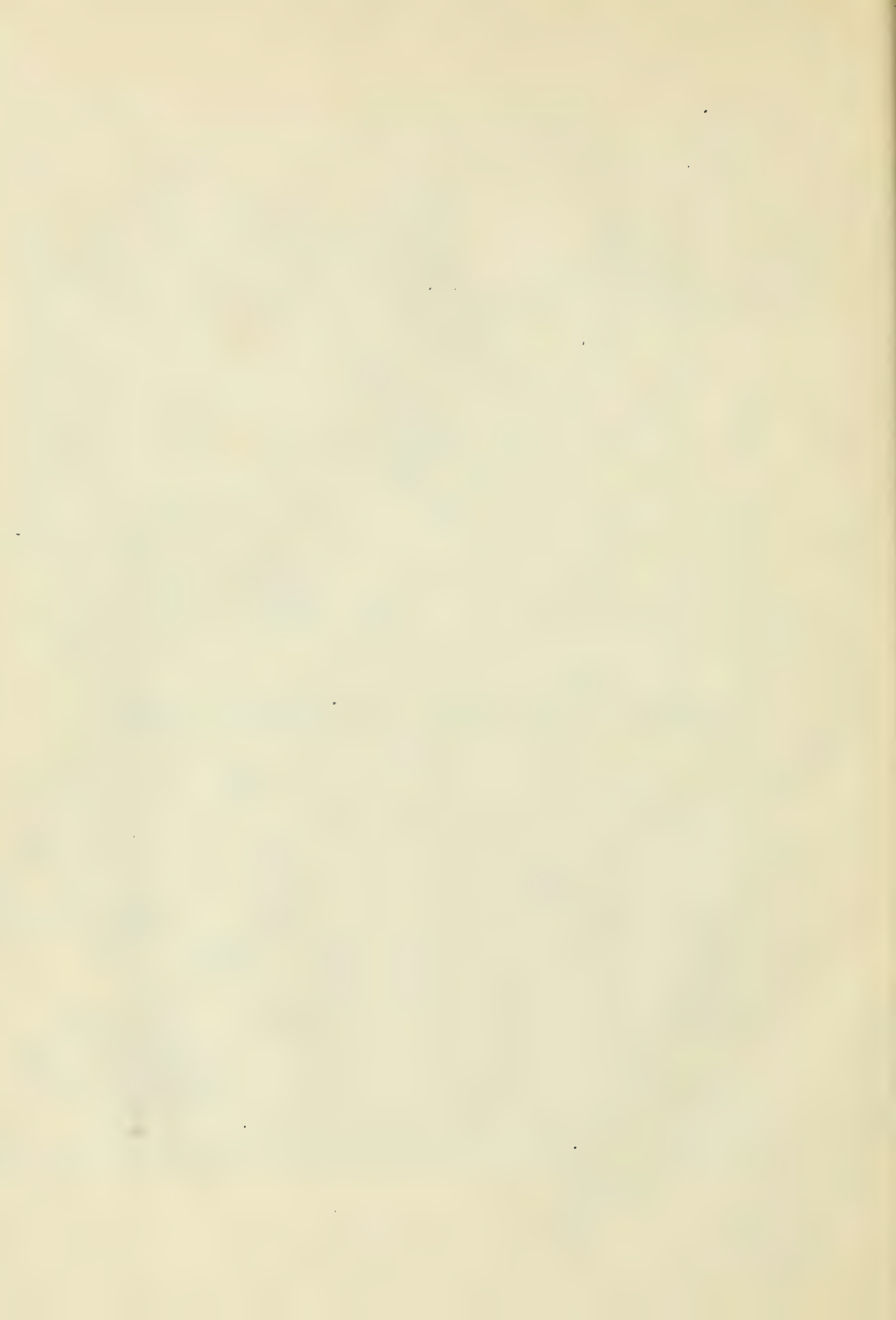
Now it is obvious that from various causes during a period of eighteen centuries many deviations from the first alignments have taken place, while numerous lengths of original ways have dropped out of use and so have disappeared, but a sufficient number, fortunately, remain to indicate these general and peculiar features, as well as the comprehensive character of the survey of the Middlesex area. It is manifest that neither the rude Saxons nor their Norman

# A MAP

of the

Middle Saxon district between the three rivers  
indicating the traces of the general conformity  
of ancient Ways and Boundaries to the lines of  
the Roman Survey of their respective Pagi.





successors were capable of designing or carrying out such a big undertaking, and that only the Roman *agrimensores* were able thus to lay out the country-side.<sup>1</sup> The latter were a corps of land surveyors trained in applied geometry, using scientific instruments for their work, for "in practical mensuration, a daily necessity for men who were perpetually allotting lands, or marking out camps, the Romans were experts."<sup>2</sup> That the work was Roman is further shown when the distance between several of the old ways was found to be 9 furlongs, or 612 Roman poles, which by the ancient survey was the interval between the quintarial lines separating the *possessa*, and that many of the intervening parallels were 120 Roman poles apart, being the divisions into which the *possessa* was divided.

An example of these intervening lines, 120 Roman poles distant, along which local ways might be laid out, is found on the northern boundaries of Hanwell and Ealing. Starting in the angle of the River Brent and going east along the road from Greenford Bridge,<sup>3</sup> the first dividing line running north and south is marked by Cuckoo Lane; the next by a long line of hedge, removed about the year 1850;<sup>4</sup> the third by a footway joining the road at Brentside; the fourth by the cross-road to Perivale Bridge; and the fifth by the footway continuing the road from Kent Gardens, Ealing, and passing by a former bend of the Brent. Further to the east, upon the hillside, in early times stretched the uncleared wood (hangre, A. S.), hence Pitzhanger and Hangar Hill. On sloping land the most equitable division of the soil exists where the longer sides of the holding run up and down and not across the slope. Consequently the cross, or decumanal lines in the above instance are not so easy to discover, but a little north of the Brent the quintarial line is indicated by a footway and a length of road running east from Greenford Lane to Perivale Church. The second and third passed respectively by the mother churches of Hanwell and Ealing. (See Map.)

**Landmarks.**—The Roman landmarks still remaining, or which can be traced to have once existed in Middlesex, are fairly numerous; they included *botontini*, stones, holes, *arcae*, cuttings, *fossae*, marked and special trees, and their positions are indicated on the map. The *botontinus* or *monticellus* was an artificial mound of earth varying in size, having often fir or other tree growth upon it, as will be seen from the accompanying sketches. At present only six are known to be existing in the County, viz., at Stanmore; Hadley, 2; Hampstead Heath; and in

<sup>1</sup> Similar results are obtained in other Romanized districts in England, viz.: Essex, Kent, Hants, Isle of Wight, Yorks, etc.

<sup>2</sup> "Agrimensores," Dict. of Antq., Smith. "Life in the Roman World," Tucker, 402.

<sup>3</sup> The *fnitima linea*, though a little out of position, is perhaps here indicated by a bridle way to Hanwell, the course of which marks the limit of the flood line of the Brent.

<sup>4</sup> "A boundary running straight along a road, track, or hedgerow, or across country, often indicates the course of a Roman road where all other trace has disappeared." "Roman Roads in Britain," Codrington, 38.



Cranford and Syon Parks. *In limitibus vero, ubi rariores terminos constituimus, monticellos quos botontinos appellavimus. Et intra ipsis carbones et cinus et testa fusa coopervimus.*<sup>1</sup> A tothill or *Botontinus* until tempo Henry VIII known as the Hermit's Hill, occupied the site where now stands St. Ermins Hotel, Westminster, and marked the southern end of the outer survey line from Hampstead.<sup>2</sup> Until 1808 another stood opposite the gate into Bushey Park, and Tolynton (Teddington) took its place name from this tothill which governed the outside line from the Syon mound. From Hillingdon Heath, from the south-west side of Primrose Hill, and from Hadley Common, surveyors' mounds have recently been removed, while in several other instances, names indicating their former existence have alone survived. All these marks, including those mentioned below, are included in the list of Roman remains at the end of the next chapter.

There are four stones still *in situ* showing the run of the ancient lines, viz., London stone; Whetstone or Whitestone; Wealdstone; while Tottenham Cross possibly marks an earlier stone. Those known as Oswulf's and Sudbury stones were removed during the last century, while twelve others are remembered only by name, such as Bordestone, Headstone, Herulvestane, Hochestane, Stone Farm, Stone Grove, etc.

Holes or shafts in the ground, which for identification contained miscellaneous articles, were known as *arcae*. These buried terminals appear to have been used to mark the bounds of town plots, for several have been found within the city of London.<sup>3</sup> Marks by means of trenches or ditches on the surface of the ground are at this date of time obviously difficult to identify. Two have been found cut across the slope west of Hanwell Church, one having its continuation on the bridge way near Greenford Bridge. The original boundary trees were blazed or otherwise distinguished, but these disappeared centuries ago, though their descendants mark in some instances the spots where the picturesque *Ambarvalia* or the subsequent Rogation-tide processions halted on their perambulations.<sup>4</sup> In

<sup>1</sup> "Grom. Vet.," 308. When the mound at Hampstead was opened, charcoal (*carbo*) was found there in a hole in the centre. "Mid. and Herts, Notes and Queries," i, 4. These terminal mounds have received various names, e.g., Tothill, Greenhill, Salthill, Hlaw, Smallbury, Fairymount, Coldharbour.

<sup>2</sup> Article by the writer in "The Builder," Dec. 22nd, 1911. In a charter of K. Ethelred giving the boundaries of St. Peters this Tothill is twice mentioned. "First from the mound to Tyburne, north along Tyburne to Cuford (Cowford in St. James's Park) . . . westward along the street (Akeman) to Cyrringe (Charing Cross) thence back to the mound." Westminster Domesday, f. 80.b.

<sup>3</sup> See "Roman Antiquities," Price. As to those at Chesterford, see "The Archaeological Journal," xii, 109, 126.

<sup>4</sup> "Notae per arcadias felici robore silvas  
Quercus erat, triviae quam de sacra verat ipsa."

Statius, "Theb.," 9, v, 585.

Instances within the Londinium Canton, but now part of Herts., are—Goff's Oak; Tried Oak; Cross Oak; Cobb's Ash; and Elstree (Edwinstree). Whatever their use in medieval times it



2



4



1



3

BOTONTINI, OR ROMAN SURVEY MOUNDS, EXISTING IN THE MIDDLESEX DISTRICT

1. Syon Park.      2. Hampstead.      3. Cranford House (in the Park).      4. Salt Hill, Slough.



Middlesex there are five boundary trees, viz., three "Gospel" and two "Burnt" Oaks. Of the former, one descendant exists at Hanwell by the Boston Road Station, another at Fray's Farm, one mile north of Uxbridge on the Harefield Road. The remaining three trees survive only in name, viz., at Hampstead, Edgware, and Harrow Weald.<sup>1</sup>

**Places of Pagan Worship and Middlesex Churches.**—Much help is afforded when tracing the extent of the Roman settlements in Middlesex (and in several other Romanized portions of Britain) from the situation of the *compitum*, or little chapel, which stood by the village ways. It will be seen from the map that the sites of over forty-seven out of fifty-six mother churches of ancient parishes in Middlesex, are situated on the quintarial lines defined by the Roman surveyors' landmarks just described, and the inference *prima facie* is, that such churches occupy the sites of *compita*, or other sacred places existing in Romano-British times.<sup>2</sup> This occupancy is further borne out by the particular direction set out below, which Pope Gregory gave to the Missionary priests going into England, viz., to utilize the sacred places of the Pagans for the service of the true God. We will now describe these wayside chapels and sacred groves which the missionaries adapted to Christian uses.

After Augustus Caesar had assumed the purple he re-organized the ancient religious sites and sacrificial priesthoods of the Romans which had fallen into decay. He astutely pressed them into the service of the State by combining with them the cult of the Imperial Supremacy. Hence also arose the new quasi-political worship of the deified Caesars, which, as part of the public worship maintained by the State, spread through the provinces of the Empire, including that of Britain, and so the dedication *Numinibus Augusti* is a common inscription on altars found in different places in Northumberland.<sup>3</sup> Here within the Canton an inscription found in London was "to the divinity of the Emperor and to the Province of Britain," which seems to belong to the early second century.<sup>4</sup>

must be remembered that trees were used as landmarks by the Roman surveyors. "Grom. Vet.," 5, 41, etc. See Index thereto.

<sup>1</sup> For further references to other survey marks see pp. 401-6, and index to "Grom. Vet."

<sup>2</sup> Mr. Johnson in his "Byways in British Archaeology," 1912, p. 1, says: "Much personal investigation together with a review of many fragments of archaeological literature, led to the conclusion, almost irrefutable as it now appears, that many of our churches stand on Pagan sites. A secondary deduction from the observed facts was the probability that in some cases there has been almost continuous site occupancy since the first Christian church was reared." To this interesting subject one hundred pages are devoted. If Mr. Johnson had known when he penned these lines, about the rural land survey and the resultants therefrom, it would have been valuable corroborative evidence in support of his conclusions.

<sup>3</sup> "Celt, Roman and Saxon," Wright, 335—cf. "Companion to Roman Studies," ch. iv, Religion, Sandys.

<sup>4</sup> "Jour. Roman Studies," i, 151.



**Compitalia.**—Among the ordinary rural festivals was that of the *Compitalia* celebrated during May and August in honour of the two *Lares Compitales*, with whom had been associated the Genius of Augustus.<sup>1</sup> These ceremonies took place at the village *compitum*, situated, as it appears in Middlesex, by a quintarial way (*via*) near where it was often crossed by a by-way (*devia*), in which *sacellum* the two Lares or spirits presiding over the surrounding fields had their shrine.<sup>2</sup> These little chapels had several sides, each with a doorway and an altar, apparently for the rites connected with the fertility of the several kinds of land holdings in the settlement—such as presumably the allotments in the village farm (*agri dati assignati*); the Imperial demesne land (*in manu Caesaris*); and the common pasturage (*compascua*).<sup>3</sup>

“Compita are places in crossways, a kind of tower where rustics perform sacrifices when the labour of the fields is completed. They are not only places in a city, but also on *public roads*, and are houses of refreshment for the inhabitants of adjoining lands, where little chapels open on all sides are consecrated. In these chapels broken yokes are placed by the cultivators as evidence of their task being duly served and finished.”<sup>4</sup>

“From this passage we gather,” says Mr. Fowler, “that where country cross roads met, or where in the parcelling out of agricultural allotments one way crossed another, some kind of altar was erected and the spot held sacred.”<sup>5</sup> It is also clear that the Romano-British *compitum*, like its successor the early English village church, held an important position in the simple and self-contained life of a rural community.<sup>6</sup>

**Paganalia.**—This was a general countryside festival held at the end of May when offerings were made to Ceres invoking blessings on the crops and the fruits of the cultivated fields, accompanied with rustic songs and merriment. It took place during the holding of the *Ambarvalia* or ceremonies held in connection with

<sup>1</sup> Much in the same way the Royal Arms displayed in churches indicated the Royal Supremacy in the State Ecclesiastical, “N. and Q.,” 10th S., vi, 53, and 11th S., ii, 429.

<sup>2</sup> The village *compitum* is thus mentioned amongst other boundary landmarks: “. . . versus ad locum illum et inde ad *compitum* illius. . . .” “Grom. Vet.,” 114.

<sup>3</sup> “Fines templares sic quaeri debent: ut si in quadrifinio est positus et quattuor possessionibus finem faciet: quattuor aras quaeris, et aedes quattuor ingressus habet, ideo ut ad sacrificium quisquis per agrum suum intraret,” “Grom. Vet.,” 302.

“Compitalia dies attributus Laribus Compitalibus ideo ut viae competunt tum in competis sacrificatur,” Varro, L. L., vi, 25.

<sup>4</sup> Translated from Scholiast on Persius, 4, 28.

<sup>5</sup> “Roman Festivals,” Fowler—cf. “Religious Experiences of the Roman People,” *Idem*.

<sup>6</sup> As regards “refreshments” in the *compita*, the early English churches were also used for non-religious purposes, and were as Mr. Addey states “the centrepieces of the old social life.” He instances some secular uses which in various places lingered on until the Middle Ages, such as banqueting, drinking, dancing, the holding of councils, courts, markets and inquisitions. “The Evolution of the English House,” ch. x.

the official purification of the *pagus*. On this occasion the *magister pagi* with a procession of the villagers bringing propitiatory offerings also visited the well-known groves and altars to Silvanus or other rural deities along the boundary of his *pagus* in the woodland pastures and waste.<sup>1</sup>

This festival furnishes one of several instances of pagan practices being adapted by the church for Christian uses. Besides its religious significance, the public *Ambarvalia* fixed in the minds of the country folk the boundaries of their *pagus* through the lustration or "the beating" of its bounds.<sup>2</sup> The rites then observed closely resemble those of the medieval "Gang" (to go) or Rogation days, when priests with the Cross went in procession round their *parochia*, and certain Gospels were read in the wild field among the corn and grass, so that wicked spirits which infest the air might be laid low to the extent that the corn may remain unharmed.<sup>3</sup> Such halting places were probably situated where in the previous age Silvanus had his wayside grove, or a local deity or nymph a *sacra* in the woodlands of the early settlement. When once a spot had become associated with a rustic deity, it was ever afterwards regarded through generations of villagers with superstitious awe, and was therefore astutely made use of by the later priest.<sup>4</sup>

**Silvanus** was a rural divinity "of general reverence," possessing a threefold personality, as, spirit of the forest: protector of the fields and shepherds: and guardian of the farmstead. His cult was observed in May and was of importance to those who in summer drove their cattle, pigs, and sheep to the woodland pastures (*silvas et pascua*) of their *pagus*: for on the occasion of the *Ambarvalia*

<sup>1</sup> He was an official annually appointed and endowed with priestly functions having to attend not only to the sacred rites of his *pagus*, but with the assistance of a council to local administrative duties in connection with roads, water supplies, and police.—"Pagus," *Diet. of Antq.*, Smith.

The State officials were not a theological caste, but only secular servants of the community administering the regulations for external worship. "Life in the Roman World," Tucker, 370.

<sup>2</sup> "Grom. Vet.," 164.

<sup>3</sup> "Rogation Days," *Pop. Antiq. and Folklore*, Brand.

<sup>4</sup> Among the ancient General Customs retained by injunction of Queen Elizabeth was the following: "The people shall once a year with the curate walk about the parish as they were accustomed and at their return to Church make their common prayer. . . . The curate in the perambulation at *certain convenient places* shall admonish the people to give God thanks . . . for the increase and abundance of his fruits . . . saying the 100th psalm," etc.

Again in the Articles of Enquiry, in 1662, within the Archdeaconry of Middlesex, it is asked: "Doth your minister on Rogation days go in perambulation about your parish saying and asking suffrages by law appointed," etc. "Pop. Antq.," Brand, ii, 476. "Hist. Fulham," Faulkner, 572.

Hence the now called "Gospel Oak" or "Holy Tree" of which the name in Middlesex survives in three places as above mentioned.

the magister and his procession appear to have halted in their perambulation at the groves of this divinity,<sup>1</sup> and propitiatory offerings to Silvanus would be made by the Romano-British husbandmen, who in superstitious fear would feel "the old tremor of man in the presence of nature not yet tamed to his needs, nor yet identified with his feelings, still full therefore of stealthy and hostile powers creeping unawares upon his life." The inhabitants generally were in constant fear lest ill should befall them in their daily toil upon the homestead, field, or forest, unless the appropriate rural divinities were propitiated. Hence perhaps the offerings of Roman copper coins which are constantly found in all parts of Middlesex.<sup>2</sup>

Inscriptions upon numerous altars to *Silvanus*, *Ceres*, *Numen Augusti*, and upwards of sixteen of the better known divinities have been found in Britain, also to many of the less known gods worshipped in the Roman world, and introduced here by settlers and auxiliary troops transported from various parts of the Empire.<sup>3</sup> Religious "scenes which were so common at Rome . . . were reproduced in remote country villages, on the edge of the Sahara . . . in the valleys of the Alps, or the Yorkshire dales."<sup>4</sup> An altar inscribed to *Diana* was discovered in 1830 near Foster Lane, E.C., doubtless set up by her votaries in honour of the goddess who provided them with excellent sport in the numerous forests of the Canton, and with animals for the "wild beast parks" at Ruislip and Enfield.<sup>5</sup> Similar dedications to nymphs, genii of the locality, and to gods of roads and fields have been discovered, while among the debris of former Romano-British towns the sites of twenty-six temples have so far been traced.<sup>6</sup>

In the face of this positive and ever accumulating evidence of a widespread worship in Britain of divinities of the Roman world, one can only conclude that other customary festivals connected with the soil and its then all important produce, were likewise enjoyed to some extent by the rustics in the fertile districts of the Londinium Canton, for such festivals constituted their only relaxation,

<sup>1</sup> Every possessio reverences Silvanus. "Grom. Vet.," 302.

<sup>2</sup> "Sacred trees, altars, and *fana* were everywhere to be found in the fields and around the farm houses, where distressed men brought their offerings, and many rustics (*paganî*) had these abominations on their lands." Sermo 41 and 46, S. Augustinus (Bp. of Hippo) noted in Cod. Theo., xvi. Edn. by Godefroy, p. 276.

<sup>3</sup> "Celt, Roman and Saxon," Wright, ch. x. "Roman Era in Britain," Ward, ch. vi, vii.

<sup>4</sup> "Roman Society, Nero to Aurelian," S. Dill, 369.

<sup>5</sup> "Agricoltura (Leporaria)," Dict. of Antq., Smith.

<sup>6</sup> The medieval builder has utilized large quantities of these altars, while many more have been broken up from the belief that they were connected with enchantment which could only be destroyed by their disappearance. But "the great number of these monuments which still exist shows beyond doubt how very numerous they must have been."—"Celt, Roman and Saxon," Wright, 313, cf. "England Before the Norman Conquest," Oman, 107; "Witchcraft," Brand's "Pop. Antq.," "Roman Era in Britain," Ward, ch. vii.



since they enjoyed no Saturday half holidays, or a seventh day rest from the incessant round of daily toil.<sup>1</sup>

Later on when Christianity was adopted, these old festivals were gradually abolished, and those of the Christians were established in their place, but the manner in which they were kept continued to be much the same. The designation of the old religion in a law of Valentinian, A.D. 368, as *Religio Paganorum* proves that its observances were continuing among the rural folk.<sup>2</sup> Though Gratian disestablished all pagan worship<sup>3</sup> his decree may not have been fully observed in the outlying diocese of Britain.

On the heathen Saxons becoming supreme in the Londinium Canton, when the last of the line of British bishops established there had fled, Christianity must have flickered out until its revival in A.D. 604, when Mellitus was sent as Bishop of London to preach to the East Saxons, amongst whom he met with success.<sup>4</sup>

**Policy of the Missionaries.**—When Augustine arrived in England A.D. 597, he found it difficult to attract the folk from the sacred places where for

<sup>1</sup> *Terminalia*. This festival was kept in February, in honour of *Terminus* the protector of boundaries. His statue was a stone or post marking a farm boundary and which on this festival was garlanded by the cultivators of the adjoining lands, each on his side of the stone, and the offerings were double. For particulars of the ceremonies, see Dict. of Antiquities, Smith, also "Religious Exp. of the Roman People," Fowler, 34, 82, "Grom. Vet.," 57.

*Vestalia*. These rites were observed in June when houses and barns were cleansed, and the rubbish burned. Hence it is supposed arose the kindling of midsummer bonfires, a practice only recently become extinct. Brand's "Pop. Antq.," 1905, vol. ii. St. John, 306.

*Neptunalia*. This festival, in celebration of the deities of springs and wells, was observed in July when feasting took place in huts made with leafy boughs. See reference to this practice at pagan *fana* in a letter from Pope Gregory to Mellitus. Yew trees in churchyards, which once may have marked the village crossways by the *compitum*, afforded excellent protection for religious excursions, or they may have originated from this custom. "Well worship" was prohibited by Edgar and Canute, but in many places the custom of decorating wells and boughs and flowers on Holy Thursday, and occasionally accompanied with prayers and psalms long continued.—"Holy Thursday," Brand's "Pop. Antq.," i, 321, "The Antiquary," 1890.

*Saturnalia*. The festival of Saturn, the god of agriculture and civilized life was celebrated in December as a sort of joyous harvest home. Many of the peculiar customs exhibited a remarkable resemblance to the sports of our own Christmas. Dict. of Antq., Smith.

<sup>2</sup> "Feriae," Dict. of Antq., Smith.

<sup>3</sup> "De Paganis Sacrificiis et Templis," 16 Cod. Theo., x.

<sup>4</sup> Whitbraed of Kent (A.D. 694-725) imposed heavy penalties on those caught secretly worshipping pagan gods. As late as the eleventh century Canute forbade the worship of stones, trees, fountains and heavenly bodies, which shows that the old Pagan beliefs reinforced by Saxon heathendom were not extinguished. For centuries later the ghosts of these old superstitions lingered around their accustomed haunts under the names of elves, pixies and brownies, or have survived in curious rural customs, of which at least thirty seem to have originated in Romano-British days. They are described in the pages of Brand's "Pop. Antq."



centuries pagan rites had been performed, and accordingly sought the advice of Gregory the Great. In reply the Pope sent the following directions in a letter dated 17th June, 601, addressed to Abbot Mellitus then going to Britain.

"Tell the most Reverend Bishop Augustine what I have upon mature deliberation on the affairs of the English determined upon—viz.—that the temples of the idols of that nation ought not to be destroyed, but let the idols that are in them be destroyed. Let holy water be made and sprinkled in the said temples: let altars be erected and temples placed. For if these temples are well built it is requisite that they be *converted* from the worship of devils to the service of the true God. That the nation seeing that their temples are *not destroyed* may remove error from their hearts, and knowing and adoring the true God may the more familiarly *resort to the places to which they have been accustomed*. And because they have been used to slaughter many oxen in the sacrifices to devils, some solemnity must be exchanged for them on this account, as on the day of the dedication, or the nativities of the holy martyrs whose relics are there deposited, they may build themselves huts of the *boughs of trees* about those churches<sup>1</sup> which have been turned to that use from temples, and celebrate the solemnity with religious feasting, and no more offer beasts to the devil, but kill cattle to the praise of God in their eating. It is impossible to efface everything at once from their obdurate minds. . . ." "Eccl. Hist.," Bede, i, 30.<sup>2</sup>

The Venerable Bede (A.D. 672-735) by giving the text in full evidently considered this direction of great importance since it laid down the policy which the Church missionaries had then been pursuing for nearly two centuries past.<sup>3</sup> Hence arose the practice of the early missionaries to preach the Gospel in the former *compita* of the villages, and at some of the outlying *sacra* formerly used during the *Ambarvalia*. In the Middlesex district these *compita* were undoubtedly built of wood, or with wattlework and plaster, and when one of them became





<sup>1</sup> The planting of a tree, unusual in the neighbourhood, was a common boundary mark, and as such a yew tree may have signified the position of a *compitum* by the village cross-ways. The spreading boughs of this tree would also afford a roof for a temporary hut.

<sup>2</sup> This was not new advice. Under an edict of Theodosius, A.D. 392, places of Pagan worship were to be used as Christian churches. Honorius in A.D. 408 forbade the further destruction of Pagan edifices in the cities. The Pantheon at Rome, about A.D. 508, was turned into a Christian church, dedicated to St. Mary of the Martyrs.

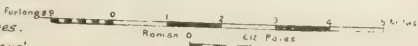
<sup>3</sup> Kemble when describing the two ways in which parish Churches originated, and after referring to the many Churches erected by owners of property, states that the greater number had probably a very different origin. In all likelihood every mark had its religious establishment, its *fanum*, *delubrum*, or *sacellum*. . . . A well grounded plan of turning the *religio loci* to account was acted upon by all the missionaries, and that wherever a substantial building was found in existence, it was taken possession of for the behoof of the new religion. Nothing could be more natural than the establishment in every mark that adopted Christianity, and that the adoption of one creed for the other, not only did not require the abolition of the old machinery, but would be much facilitated by retaining it.—"The Saxons in England," ii, ch. 9.



VESTIGES  
OF THE  
ROMANO-BRITISH  
OCCUPATION

-  Quintarial limits forming a Possessa (810 acres).  
 Computalia - chapels situated by the <sup>Forlong</sup> limits, now sites of Parish Churches.  
 Botontini, stones, etc Roman surveyors' landmarks.  


Shire or division after AD 886.



Montagu Sharpe  
1919.



ruinous, a tiny church would take its place. From time to time these churches would be rebuilt by the villagers, until we come down to the fabrics of the parish churches as at present existing in the county, and marked with a ⚡ on the map.<sup>1</sup>

Hence after studying the natural features of a Romanized district, with the assistance afforded by Church sites, survey mounds and marks, oriented ways, old boundaries, and vestiges of ancient habitations, it is possible to reconstruct to some extent the former *pagi* and the rural settlements they once contained.

<sup>1</sup> In Essex, a portion of which was within the Londinium Canton, the walls of over thirty-five parish churches contain Roman materials. In "The Athenaeum" for 1889, p. 314, the number is given as at least sixty.

Those who extend this research into other Counties will find their preliminary work facilitated by marking the once existing fens, and forests, undoubted Roman roads, towns, stations, and villas, upon an early edition of an ordnance sheet of one inch to the mile. Next should be emphasized the sites of mother churches, ancient stones, and other landmarks, boundaries of hundreds and parishes, together with the trend of immemorial roadways, and paths, especially those in paralld courses, with crossways at right angles. Then with rule, and compass set to nine furlongs, and having special regard to Church sites, the quintarial lines of the ancient survey of a Romanized district may often be traced and recovered, for upon and parallel to them, rural roads frequently ran. Mainly by these means many marks and stones upon the country-side hitherto unexplained, and may be even unnoticed, will fall into line, and their use become evident, while at the same time it will become apparent how much the present setting of the face of the land, its roads and bounds, derives its origin from the Roman Survey in the first and second centuries of our era.



## CHAPTER X

### ROMAN TIMES (PART III) AND ROMAN REMAINS IN MIDDLESEX

#### VILLAGE SETTLEMENTS—EARLY CHRISTIANITY—A MINT AND A PUBLIC SCHOOL —PROSPERITY OF THE CANTON—ROMAN REMAINS IN MIDDLESEX.

##### Village Settlements.

WE are now in a position to consider the planting of a typical Romano-British agricultural settlement in a *pagus* of the Middlesex area. When the requisite number of *possessae* had been assigned for the new settlement, or *vicus*, the cantonal officials would select the site for the village near a quintarial line, and generally where "the axe and plough" of the native Catuvellauni had already made clearings.<sup>1</sup> The necessary byeways would then be cut through the undergrowth, huts erected for the settlers, and a *compitum* for the *Lares* who were to protect the fields of the new community.<sup>2</sup> After the officials had selected portions of the land suitable for tillage, they would be formed into fields, probably of one or more *centuriae*, which were subdivided into strips, or plots, each containing a *jugerum*.

The original Roman allotment (*heredium*) for a settler was 2 *jugera* ( $1\frac{1}{4}$  acres) with the right of pasturage (*compascua*) on the common grazing ground of the community.<sup>3</sup> The number of *jugera* to an allotment was subsequently increased, but "the quantity depended primarily on the extent of the divisible land and the number of recipients." Many allotments in the Middlesex area in the eleventh century appear from Domesday to have consisted of 10, 25, and 50 *jugera*, held in Saxon half-acre strips intermingled apparently amongst those of other settlers in the arable fields of the village farm.<sup>4</sup> One of these fields, for

<sup>1</sup> "Grom. Vet.," 201.

<sup>2</sup> These wooden buildings would soon decay and disappear. In England from time to time discoveries are made of the remains of houses of a better class, probably erected during the later Roman occupation, which had foundations of brick or stone, their superstructure being only of timber. The owners of these country houses or villas were officials and influential persons, who in the next age were driven out or slain by the Saxons, and their villas generally burnt, but the foundations remained covered by ashes and *débris* until Mother Earth hid the tragedy in her bosom.

<sup>3</sup> "Agr. Leges," Dict. of Antq., Smith; "Grom. Vet.," 369.

<sup>4</sup> "Grom. Vet.," 152.

example, measuring 1 *centuria*, or 50 *jugera*, and called an *ager jugarius*,<sup>1</sup> when divided into, e.g., fifty elongated plots, each of 1 *jugerum*, would appear, especially when scored by furrows from the plough, to lie in strips.<sup>2</sup> Hence in Saxon times arose the term "virgate" (*virgatus*, striped) which appears to have become generally applied to this Roman measure of land, and equal to 31 modern acres. The Domesday Survey of Middlesex records 445 arable holdings in virgates, and 448 in half virgates, which show that both the *centuria* and half *centuria* were usual measures of land when the Roman surveyors arranged the settlements in the County area, and land divisions are not wantonly disturbed by subsequent possessors.<sup>3</sup> In the same way the term "*ager*," when applied to a strip of two *jugera*, became known in Saxon times as "*acer*," a little field of 1.246 acres. This is shown by a passage in a charter of A.D. 860: "*Dimidium agrum quod nostra lingua dicimus healve aker*."<sup>4</sup> The identity of these two measures in the County is proved by the Domesday returns for Middlesex, for if the *centuria* with its known equivalent to 31.155 acres be substituted for the virgate therein recorded, and all the Middlesex returns are worked out on this basis, then it will be found that the total Domesday acreage plus the allowance for ways is practically identical with that of the modern Ordnance Survey. This is fully shown in a subsequent chapter on the Domesday land measures.<sup>5</sup>

To return to the settlement, where the officials would next:

- (a) Assign strips of land in the several fields by lot amongst the settlers, who had been formed by ballot into groups of ten (*decania*).<sup>6</sup>
- (b) Return irregular patches of land (*reddita*) cultivated by the Catuvellauni, or exchange them for measured strips; such natives were known as

<sup>1</sup> These fields had various designations: *Ager adsignatus*, *centuriatus*, *dextratus*, *meridianus* in 25 *jugera*, *commutatus*, "*Grom. Vet.*," 246. Similarly, before the Enclosure Acts of Parliament, the common fields of a parish were known by many names, e.g., East, West, South, Church, Parish, etc.

<sup>2</sup> One *jugerum* = a Saxon half acre = .623 statute acre. Over 200 men in Domesday Middlesex had their allotments recorded in acres.

<sup>3</sup> Bede (A.D. 673-735) in his "*Ecc. Hist.*," iii, 24, mentions that in the north of England a possessio (rendered by King Alfred in the Saxon tongue as "*hida landes*") was in the occupation of a group of ten families. This would give to each an equal allotment of 20 *jugera*, equal to 10 Saxon acres, or 12.4 statute acres, if it lay in a Romanized district where 4 virgates, or 200 *jugera* went to a hide.

<sup>4</sup> "*Cart. Sax.*," Birch, 460, cf. "*Aker*," a field; "*akerlond*," cultivated land; "*akerman*," a husbandman, "*Dict. Archaic Words*," Halliwell.

<sup>5</sup> In some parts of England the virgate was not equivalent to the *centuria* of 31.155 acres, and this would be the case in districts which had not been previously surveyed by the Romans. Antiquaries, however, are agreed that the virgate generally contained about 30 statute acres, which goes towards establishing its semblance with the pre-existing *centuria*, which the Saxons found in evidence in every Romano-British settlement throughout the Middlesex district.

<sup>6</sup> "*Grom. Vet.*," 113; "*Agriamentatio*," *Dict. of Antq.*, Smith.

*contributi*—for it was the policy of the Romans to show consideration for conquered people.

- (c) After the district became settled perhaps to sell land for a few small farms (*villa rustica*).

Under this system of distribution there appears to have been as many *centuriae* of land prepared for a settlement (*vicus*) as there were *decaniae* of assembled husbandmen to work them. The men having been arranged in groups of ten, each *decania* balloted for its *centuriae*, and then every member of it drew for his strips of land (*heredium*) in the *centuriae* belonging to his group. Thus, e.g., one *centuria* divided into fifty *jugera*, would provide every man five *jugera* lying amongst those of his nine fellow workers. "The mode of drawing lots is necessary in order that no one can complain that he should have drawn his lot before someone else, whereby he might perhaps have chanced upon a better plot of land, or dispute as to the first to draw, when all should be equal."<sup>1</sup>

The first two classes of land holdings were held free of rent (*vectigal*), but the possessors paid a land tax (*tributum solis*) and hence were known as *tributarii*, and such are known in the fourth century to be dwelling in the Middlesex district.<sup>2</sup>

Provision had also to be made to enable the settlers to graze their cattle and sheep, and so adjacent heaths and wild lands were set apart as a common appendant to the different holdings and allotments in the *vicus*, a right enjoyed by every villager and bearing presumably some proportion to the number of *jugera* in his occupation.<sup>3</sup>

After the lapse of time the number of strips in the hands of one possessor often became considerable, and the Domesday Survey returned for the County eighty-two husbandmen or villani as holding each half a hide; twenty-three with one hide; and three with two hides, or 400 *jugera*. The fourteenth century manor rolls of Winslow in the adjoining county of Bucks give an example of sixty-eight half-acre strips of arable land belonging to one individual, lying intermingled amongst those of his neighbours.<sup>4</sup> Much later, at the enclosure of the parish of Hanwell, Middlesex, early in the nineteenth century, one owner held in Eastfield 17 strips, giving each an average of 3 roods 19 poles; similarly in Southfield 32 strips of 1 rood 7 poles; and in Churchfield 6 strips of 2 roods 18 poles, all of which lay scattered amongst those of the other parishioners.

To bring further unassigned land in the *vici* under cultivation, land holdings in the third century were leased by the Imperial officials at rents of ranging

<sup>1</sup> "Grom. Vet.," 113; cf. "Agrimetatio," Dict. of Antq., Smith.

<sup>2</sup> Theodosius, about A.D. 368, having defeated the Picts and Scots in the neighbourhood of Londinium, recovered the booty taken from the *tributarii*. "Quam tributarii perdidere miserimi." A. Marcellinus, "Mon. Hist. Brit.," lxxiii.

<sup>3</sup> Ad pascendum communiter vicinis, "Grom. Vet.," 369.

<sup>4</sup> "Eng. Village Com.," 1905, Seebohm, chap. ii.



nature and settled by custom, known under the general term of *vectigalia*, and the lessees as *coloni* (tillers of the soil) who were mostly persons transferred from the Continent; though a *tributarius* as an adjoining occupier might take up a lease. These *coloni*, who originally were free cultivators, had by the fourth century become inseparably attached to the soil (*perpetuarii*) which they could not quit (*glebae adscripti*), and generally their lot was a hard one, for short of actual impoverishment, the provincial taxation of the later Empire was a heavy burden upon them.<sup>1</sup> Evidence exists that both *tributarii* and *coloni* with their decurions (rural elders or tenth men) had been established in Britain, as they are mentioned in an edict addressed in A.D. 319 to Pactianus, vicar of the Province,<sup>2</sup> and half a century later reference is made to the *Tributarii* who were dwelling in the neighbourhood of London, which would include Middlesex as previously stated.

A species of *vectigal* was paid to pasture cattle (*scriptura*) and to feed swine (*glandifera*) in the Emperor's woods and wastes (*silvae et pascua*), also for felling timber, and for leasing fisheries, etc. Considering the extensive oak woods which then existed along the northern half of the County, the herbage and pannage must have yielded a good return. The Domesday Survey in A.D. 1086 shows that in the Saxon period pannage (*silva porcis*) was returned from every manor north of what is now the Uxbridge Road; and that either weirs, nets, or fishponds were then existing in the manors of Enfield, Fulham, Hampton, Harefield, Harmondsworth, Isleworth, Staines, Stanwell, and Tottenham. A rent for the herbage was also being charged in Enfield and some other manors, which with the above returns were customary charges long established, and probably dated from Roman times.

In the stretch of forest over the northern portion of the County, Domesday mentions that there were two enclosures (*parcus*) in Middlesex for keeping wild

<sup>1</sup> Vectigal was payable in kind, personal service, or money. This is shown from the practice on private estates in Italy. "Proprietors of land should accept what the soil offers, unless the custom of the estate demands it let them not require cash payment which the husbandman would not venture to ask for themselves," Cod. Theo., ii, 48, 5, which applied to the whole Empire. Rent should be "a proportion of wheat, or cattle, or clothing, according to the terms laid by the lord on the husbandmen," Tacitus, "M. G.," 25.

"Let the Proprietor deal kindly with his Coloni and show himself good natured. Let him press more eagerly for service than for rents, since this gives less offence and is usually the more profitable. But even if he has entered into any sort of contract with his Colonus, he should not be as insistent on his right as in the time of cash payment, as, for instance, in exacting logs and such like little extras," Columella, Lib. i. See also "Grom. Vet.," 205.

<sup>2</sup> Constantius in his rescript to Pacatianus, Vicar of Britain, in A.D. 319, refers generally to the decurio, colonus, and tributarius in Britain, Cod. Theo., xi, 7, 2.

"*Tributaria* sunt ea quae in his provinciis sunt qua propriae Caesaris esse creduntur," Gaius, ii, 21. This was the case of Britain. See also under headings, Colonus, Provincia, Tributum, Vectigalis, Diet. of Antq., Smith.



animals—one at Ruislip, and still known as Ruislip Park, with 295 acres, and the other within Enfield Chase. Both apparently going back at least to the Roman period, for wealthy men frequently kept a variety of animals, boars, stags roedeer, etc., confined in parks, which, in the provinces, and especially in trans-alpine Gaul, comprehended a circuit of many miles. This space was fenced with a strong paling, and it was necessary to feed the animals in winter.<sup>1</sup>

The borderland of the Canton, such as the Chiltern hills, together with the *extra clausus* round the boundaries of the *pagi*, and other oddments, *intra clausus*, came under the general designation of *subseciva* (cut off). There were no definite arrangements for its disposal, and portions might be (a) returned to former native proprietors<sup>2</sup> or (b) leased to the Curia or Senate of the Canton for the maintenance of the main roads, watercourses, and baths; or (c) to a religious corporation for the service of the temples; or (d) to an adjoining occupier for his life.

**Early Christianity.**—While little is known about the spread of early Christianity in the Londinium Canton during the third and fourth centuries, it is evident that among the stream of persons passing into Britain from all parts of the Empire and bringing with them their individual forms of religious observance<sup>3</sup> some at least among them were professing the Christian faith.<sup>4</sup> Between A.D. 211 and 249 the sect of Christians who had hitherto held their meetings in private were allowed throughout the Empire to erect and consecrate edifices for the purposes of their religious worship. Consequently in a much frequented place like Londinium, the Christians as in other cities would band themselves into a religious community and congregation, since the bulk of the inhabitants in both the urban and the rural parts of the Canton were observing the public and private rites and festivals of Rome and of Augustus (the cult of the deified Caesars) besides those of other deities.<sup>5</sup> But the Diocletian persecutions of A.D. 303-5,

<sup>1</sup> "Agricoltura (Leporaria)," Dict. of Antq., Smith.

<sup>2</sup> The irregular courses of the roads and bounds in the Chiltern district indicate that it had been returned or left in the possession of the natives, who throughout the Roman occupation remained more or less a distinct people. Afterwards in the Saxon period they were known as the "Chiltensetna" or inhabitants on the Chiltern hills, and who were ultimately lost in the Mercian district north of the Thames.

<sup>3</sup> Despite the destruction by the mediaeval builder and by superstitious persons, the great number of altars to the various deities of the Roman world which still exist, show beyond doubt how numerous they must have been. "The Celt, Roman and Saxon," Wright, 313; "The Roman Era in Britain," Ward, chap. vii.

<sup>4</sup> "There is the strongest reason to believe that before the reigns of Diocletian and Constantine, the faith of Christ had been preached in every province, and in all the great cities of the Empire. But the foundation of the several congregations, and the numbers of the faithful who composed them, and their proportion to the unbelieving multitude are now buried in obscurity or disguised by fiction." "Decline and Fall," Gibbon, xv, 358.

<sup>5</sup> "Numinibus Augusti" is a common inscription on altars found in Northumberland. "The Celt Roman and Saxon," Wright, 335. Inscribed altars of upwards of twenty-four deities have been discovered in Britain.

though tempered by the humanity of Constantine, were doubtless felt in Londinium, since in the adjoining Canton a soldier who had embraced Christianity suffered for his faith at Verulamium, and he has since been known as St. Alban the Martyr. Firmer historical ground is reached after the edict of Nantes in A.D. 313, which permitted the Christians and all others freely to follow the religion which each individual preferred, and it is recorded that at a council of the Church held at Arles in the next year, there was present Restitutus, Bishop of the Londinium Canton, with his colleagues from York and Caerleon, though the name of no other Romano-British Bishop of Londinium is known with certainty,<sup>1</sup> with the exception perhaps of Theonus the last of this early line, who, with some of his clergy, fled into Wales when the heathen Saxon overran the Canton about A.D. 586.<sup>2</sup> But "we must not credit our British predecessors with anything like a universal knowledge and acceptance of Christianity. We may be sure that in Britain, so remote from the centre of influence and so inaccessible by reason of its insular position, that state of things (paganism) continued to prevail a good deal longer than in the civilized parts of Gaul."<sup>3</sup> If the Christian religion had its strongholds mainly in the towns, it is evident that paganism continued in the rural districts (*pagi*) from its description in a law of Valentinian in A.D. 368 as *Religio Paganorum*, to distinguish it from that of Christ.<sup>4</sup> Though Theodosius in A.D. 391 forbade these pagan observances, they lingered on at the *loci sacra* of the villages and on the bounds of the *pagi*, where, replete with "the memories of centuries of worship and the hallowed associations of place and ceremony," the rustics had been accustomed to assemble, and where in later times some of the Saxon pantheon may also have found accommodation.

**A Mint and a Public School.**—While little or no attention had hitherto been paid to Middlesex as forming part of a Canton, or to Londinium as the seat of the local government of that Canton through a curia or senate, on the other hand infinite research has been expended over the structural remains of Roman London, often unearthed from a depth of 20 feet, so that it is unnecessary here to refer to its ancient buildings, walls, altars and other remains of religious cults,

<sup>1</sup> Mention may be made of Angulus, Bishop of Augusta (Londinium). He must have been in office, says Professor Oman, somewhere between A.D. 340 and 410, since Londinium was so styled *circa* A.D. 383. There was much poverty amongst the early Christian congregations in Britain. At the Council of Ariminum in A.D. 360, out of 400 fathers then assembled, three British Bishops who had refused assistance from their colleagues, alone received their expenses from the Emperor, Constantius II.

<sup>2</sup> Mathew of Westminster describes Theonus as Archbishop of London. An enquiry into the extent of his diocese is dealt with later on.

<sup>3</sup> "The Church in these Islands before Augustine," 34, Dr. Browne, Bishop of Bristol.

<sup>4</sup> Cod. Theo., xvi, 2, 18. Also "Sacerdos," Dict. of Antq., Smith. The gradual change from paganism to Christianity is exemplified by the laws relating to religion, passed between A.D. 321 and 426. "De Paganis Sacrificiis et Templis," Cod. Theo., 16, 10.

wharves, works of art and of domestic use, which collectively prove that in Romano-British times the city was of importance, and, besides enjoying a high degree of civilization, was the centre of the financial administration of Britain.<sup>1</sup> A brief reference may, however, be made to two privileges which the town enjoyed in the fourth century, viz: the setting up of a mint, and in all probability of a government school. After the death of Cunobeline the tribal coinage was replaced by importations of Imperial money.<sup>2</sup> At the end of two centuries after the pacification of the country by Agricola, the increasing prosperity and importance of the British Cantons, especially that of Londinium from the trade passing through its port, obliged the government at Rome to establish a local mint. "The mint at London appears to have been instituted in the reign of Diocletian (A.D. 284-305) and to have continued in active operation for a little over a century, its latest known issues being those of Magnus Maximus (A.D. 383-88)."<sup>3</sup>

One of the earliest schools of a public character in Britain would have been organized at Londinium by virtue of an Imperial decree dated June, A.D. 376, addressed to the Pretorian Praefect of the Diocese of Gaul, which included Britain. It was therein directed that in every well-known and populous city which ranked as a metropolis the best professors should direct the education of youth at the expense of the Imperial Treasury.<sup>4</sup> Since at the date Londinium was both well-known and populous, and would be reckoned ecclesiastically as a metropolis—for by A.D. 314, if not earlier, the place had been considered of sufficient importance to be made the seat of a bishop—it may be fairly held that this city came within the terms of Gratian's decree. Before this time there were doubtless schools

<sup>1</sup> Roman London covered 322 acres: Verulamium 200: Colchester 110.

<sup>2</sup> All rival issues in cities which came under the Roman dominion were put down. From this policy Rome never swerved, until, in the reign of Diocletian, coinage was uniform throughout the length and breadth of the Empire. "Monetas," Dict. of Antq., Smith.

<sup>3</sup> Brit. Numis. Jour., v, 32.

<sup>4</sup> "The Emperors Valens, Gratianus and Valentinianus, Augusti; to Antonius the Pretorian Praefect of the Gauls:

"Throughout the whole of the diocese committed to your Magnificence, in the most popular cities of worth and of eminent renown, let the best of the teachers direct the education of youth: we are speaking of Rhetoricians and Grammarians of the Attic and Roman learning.

"Of them let there be given to the Orators salaries of twenty-four rations from the Treasury: to the Latin or Greek Grammarians let there be furnished (according to custom) the somewhat reduced number of twelve rations, so that in every city which is called a metropolis a public election of famous teachers may be held.

"Now, we should not consider it open to each city to make economies at its own pleasure in the support of its professors and teachers; indeed we are of opinion that by the most illustrious city of the Treveri (Trier) something more liberal should be provided, to wit:—that to Rhetoricians should be paid thirty rations, twenty to a Latin Grammarian, and to a Greek (Grammarian) if any can be found worthy, twelve rations.

"(Given on the Xth day of the Kalends of June, in the Consulship of Valens and Valentinian, A.D. 376." 13 Cod. Theo., iii.



already existing in Londinium and in some other British towns, but "like most of those in Rome and in the larger towns, were upon a private footing."<sup>1</sup>

**Prosperity of the Canton.**—During a period of three and a quarter centuries from the administration of Agricola, the settlement and agricultural development of the Londinium Canton had steadily progressed, and, as will be seen in the next chapter, had been extended into all parts of the present County area, since "thousands also of nobles and private persons frequently go over thither" (Britain).<sup>2</sup> Under the protecting arm of Imperial Rome it had enjoyed a long era of peace, undisturbed by the presence of war until A.D. 296, when the mercenary troops of the usurper Allectus after his defeat and death in Hampshire, probably ravaged the country around Staines and Brentford, on their way along Tamesis Street to plunder Londinium, where they were met and slaughtered in great numbers by Constantius. Later on in A.D. 368, the district must have suffered from the incursions of the dreaded Picts and Scots, "who after flooding the Midlands had advanced so far south that the Count Theodosius, sent by Valentinian to repel them, made Londinium his first headquarters. It is said that its wall which enclosed 322 acres was built in consequence of these raids." The same difficulty presents itself respecting the reason for throwing up the six small rectangular entrenchments which until recent times were visible in Middlesex. Do they date back to the third and fourth centuries, or were they erected by the Romano-British to check the west Saxon incursion during the second half of the sixth century?

The Middlesex district affords an excellent example of the skilful manner in which these wonderful Roman agriculturalists developed a country-side, and enabled the natives and settlers to raise increased supplies of corn and other agricultural produce.<sup>3</sup> In A.D. 350 corn was being largely exported to the Roman army on the Rhine, some of which, it is only reasonable to suppose, grew in the fertile *pagi* of the Thames valley, and was afterwards shipped from the wharves at the port of Londinium. The golden age of the district, then drawing to its close, ended in A.D. 410 on the withdrawal of the protecting arm of Rome, when in common with other States of Britain, the Londinium Canton was bidden by Honorius to defend its territory. This the community appears to have accomplished

<sup>1</sup> At the age of seven boys and girls went to school to learn reading, writing, and elementary arithmetic. The discipline was severe, and even when the days were short studies were commenced before daybreak. "Ludus Litterarius," Dict. of Antq., Smith; "Life in the Roman World," 321-3, Tucker.

"Inscribed tiles plainly written by labouring men have been found in one place and another in Britain and other Roman provinces in scores. The truth is that in the lands ruled by Rome education was better under the Empire than at any time since its fall until about 1848." Haverfield, "Jour. Roman Studies," i, 168.

<sup>2</sup> Aristides, A.D. 160; "Mon. Hist. Brit.," xciii.

<sup>3</sup> Eumenius describes Britain at the end of the third century as rich in corn, cattle, and mines, with large revenues and busy ports. "Mon. Hist. Brit.," lxix.



through a stormy and obscure period of upwards of 150 years, aided by the protection afforded by the marshes of the Lea, Colne, and Thames, and along its northern stretch by a dense forest, until finally overcome by the West and East Saxons.

Thus were districts of the Londinium Canton lying in the northern watershed of the Thames transformed from an almost primitive condition into highly organized village settlements—each of which had been laid out in accordance with the geometrical survey of its *pagus*. So thoroughly were the dispositions of this survey observed in early days, that it moulded and influenced the position of the villages, the direction of many of its existing highways, and the divisions of the land of Middlesex, down to the abandonment of the ancient open field system of agriculture, on the enclosure of the parishes between 1770 and 1825. The evidence of this will be reviewed in the following chapters.

**Roman Remains in Middlesex.**—This list does not pretend to be an exhaustive one, for in most parishes of the County various minor articles have from time to time been brought to light, which have not been recorded in the transactions of Archaeological Societies or made public. For convenient reference, the County is here divided into two districts, viz: east and west of Watling Street.

#### SURVEY MARKS

(*R* indicates that the survey mark is known to have been removed; and *S*, a supposed site, of which the name only remains.)

**BOTONTINI.** East—In Dryham Park,<sup>1</sup> S. Mimms; the two mounts at Hadley, and one on Hampstead Heath.

*R.* "Tothill," Westminster, by St. Ermin's Hotel; and two from Hadley Common. *S.* "Greenhill," Barnet; "Toteham," whence Tottenham derives its name; and Totehele in Domesday.

West—At Lymesholme, Stanmore; in Syon Park, near the river; in Cranford Park by the main road bridge; also "Salthill," Slough, Bucks (see illustrations).

*R.* By Bushey Park Gate "Totynton," hence Teddington; on Hillingdon Heath; "Honeslaw," Smallbury Green, Hounslow; *S.* Barrowpoint, Pinner; "Chittern" and "Feltham" Hills, Feltham, otherwise not naturally existing in this level stretch of the valley of the Thames; and "Greenhill," Harrow.

**STONES AND MARKS.** East—London Stone; Whetstone; Fossae, by Hanwell Church; and site at Tottenham Cross.

*R.* "Oswulf's Stone," Hyde Park; "Stonecross," Strand. *S.* "Stonegrove," "Stonefield," Edgware; "Dalstone"; "Hochestone," Hoxton; "Hergotestane," Haggerston; "Lillestone," Lisson Grove; "Markfield," Tottenham.

<sup>1</sup> This botontinus was first noticed by the writer in August, 1919. It lies just within Middlesex, and marked the meeting of the south boundary line with that on the east from Ridge of the Roman *pagus*, which otherwise lies practically within Herts (see map, p. 76).

West—"Wealdstone," Harrow; "Heathstone" (embedded with broken cinerary urns), Hanwell.

R. "Bordestone," Brentford, referred to in a parochial document relating to West Brentford; "Headstone," Harrow; "Sudbury Stone," shown on Rocques' Map, 1775. S. "The Steyne," Acton; "Stone Farm," Ealing.

BOUNDARY TREES. East—S. "Burnt Oak," Edgware; "Gospel Oak," Hampstead.

West—"Gospel Oak," Hanwell; "Gospel Oak," by Fray's Farm, near Uxbridge; "Burnt Oak," Pinner; and Eastcote Bush. In the former middle-Saxon district, but now in Herts, "Goff's Oak," and "Cobb's Ash."

RURAL STREETS (with hard surface in contrast to a-green lane). East—Brent Street; Bury Street; Causeway; Dale Street; Green Street; Lawrence Street; Page Street; Parsons Street; Turkey Street.<sup>1</sup>

West—Bury Street; Causeway, Twyford; Green Street; Joel Street. A way, now the Uxbridge Road, was deflected after leaving the *pagus* at Hanwell, to conform with the survey lines of the adjoining *pagus* on the west. (See map.)

MILITARY MAIN ROADS. Ermine Street, the way to the fenlands from Londinium.<sup>2</sup> At Enfield there was in all probability an Imperial posting station for changing horses (*mutatio*), from whence to the next station despatches were conveyed by mounted couriers under the postal system established by Augustus, also a *mansio* or inn for travellers.

"Intercourse was easy between the various districts, for along every great road a series of posting stations, each with its stud of relays, was available for the service of travellers."<sup>3</sup> In the time of Caesar a letter took on an average about a month to reach Rome from Britain.<sup>4</sup>

Watling Street, a section of this great way first passed through the County from Westminster to Brockley Hill (Sulloniaceae) where most likely there was an inn and a posting station,<sup>5</sup> and afterwards from Londinium. Tamesis Street, a

<sup>1</sup> A regular feature of Roman agrarian roads is very apparent in Stanmore, viz., in the rectangular turns they take round the sides of, and not across, the small square centuriat divisions of the land.

<sup>2</sup> "Arch. Jour.," xiv, iii.

<sup>3</sup> "Roman Britain," Conybeare. When Galerius, A.D. 305-11, seized Rome, Constantius contrived to flee and post down to join his father Constantine in Gaul, slaughtering every stud of relays along the entire route to delay his pursuers. Both father and son at once sailed for Britain, where the former shortly died, like Severus, at York.—*Idem*.

<sup>4</sup> Cicero writes that he received on September 27th one written by Caesar on September 1st, and on September 13th one from Quintus, "your fourth," dated August 10th. "What pleasant letters you do write. Give me Britain that I may paint it in your colours with my brush."

<sup>5</sup> Dr. Martin, F.S.A., considers that the lines of a small enclosure or station can be traced in the field on the east side of the road at the top of the hill. They measured north and south 130 by 120 yards east and west.

section of this road, ran from Oldford on the Lea to Staines (*Pontes*). Here again an inn and a posting station may have existed at Staines and also at Brentford, where travellers would often have to wait at the tidal fords of the Brent, and of the Thames.<sup>1</sup>

ENTRENCHMENTS. East—The entrenchment known as “Buryhill” (Brill), stood in North St. Pancras, by the old church and the Brill brook, and measured 40 by 60 yards; another at Barnsbury was existing in 1825, its sides were 45 by 45 yards.

West—The early camp at Brentford was 585 by 515 yards and enclosed about 50 acres. The entrenchment at Harlington, near King’s Arbour, was 100 by 100 yards, and has only recently been demolished. On Greenfield Common, near Laleham, there was a double line of earthwork. The dimensions of the outer work along the north and south sides were 133 and 130 yards, and on the east and west 140 and 166 yards. The inner lines measured in the same way were 81, 76, and 95 and 96 yards.<sup>2</sup> On Hounslow Heath, was probably the camp, 60 paces square, mentioned by Stukeley (“*Iter Borealis*,” p. 8). It lay south of the London and South Western Railway, and close to the Hanworth and Hounslow Road.

BATTLEFIELDS. 54 B.C., Julius Caesar forced the passage of the Thames at Brentford, where numerous weapons of war have been found. In A.D. 43 at the same ford Claudius Caesar passed over without opposition from the Britons, who were terrified by his elephant. On Hampstead plain, A.D. 61, Suetonius defeated Boadicea. Various weapons of bronze of a mixed character, Roman and British, were found in the Thames at Hampton Wick when the bridge was built. It is believed that a minor ford leading to Kingston formerly existed here.<sup>3</sup> Along

<sup>1</sup> Dr. Stukeley was of the same opinion. Brentford was “undoubtedly a mansion between London and Staines” and states that the latter “was fenced round with a ditch,” “*Iter*,” vii.

Some of the West Brentford Inns have continued for centuries, such as The Castle, White Horse, and Red Lion, in which a chapter of the Garter was held in 1445. These inns symbolize three periods in the town’s existence. The first, the British entrenchment to guard the ford. The White Horse was the Saxon emblem; while The Red Lion appears in the Standard of our present Royal House.

“To the Read Lyon at the Shamel’s end  
We went for to drynke good ale.”

From “Jyl of Brentford’s Testament,” temp. 1550.

The Doves was kept by Lowin, an actor in the time of Shakespeare, and of his plays. At this inn in 5 James I, the Justices of the Peace were holding their assemblies, and apparently at no other place within the limits of the present county, and they had probably been doing so for a long time previously, though the earlier Middlesex records are not now extant to prove this. The Sessions of the Peace were held at the Castle, St. John’s Street, Clerkenwell, prior to the erection of Hick’s Hall on the Green there in 11 James I.

<sup>2</sup> Stukeley in his “*Itinerary*” gives views of the two last named camps.

<sup>3</sup> “*Arch. Jour.*,” v, 326. Matthew Paris says that its old name was Moreford.



Tamesis Street in A.D. 296, after their rout in Hampshire by the Praefect Asclepiodotus, the mercenary troops of Allectus fled on on their way to plunder Londinium, where they were defeated by Constantius. Conflicts doubtless occurred within the County area with marauding bands of Picts and Scots when driven away by the Count Theodosius, whose headquarters were at Londinium.<sup>1</sup>

HABITATIONS, REMAINS, ETC. East.—

*Bethnal Green.* A Roman coffin.

*Dalston.* Romano-British urns; 1849.

*Enfield.* In a field by Caterhatch lane in 1820 in an earthenware vessel, seventy coins of Domitian, C. Nerva, Trajan, Aurelius, Hadrian, A. Pius, Sabina, etc., and with others all silver, also some of Titus, Otha, Diana Augusta, Faustina, etc. In Windmill field, north-east of and close to Bury Moat, some large painted tiles and urns containing bones and gold coins.<sup>2</sup> In Mr. Mellish's gravel pit were found at Broomfield, a brick hearth, human bones, earthen pots, coins, large nails, and in 1816 Roman urns and coins. In 1902, when excavating near Burleigh Road, a leaden coffin, the lid of which was studded with scallop shells, and two leaden urns were discovered at a depth of 2 feet. The writer was permitted to view several burial urns containing burnt bones standing in situ in a garden in what had once been a private Roman cemetery.

*Hampstead.* In 1774 Roman antiquities, sepulchral urns, vases, earthenware lamps, etc., in Wells Walk.<sup>3</sup>

*Highgate.* A Roman vase containing coins of Probus, A.D. 276, and Caracalla, A.D. 311, with a fine bronze sword handle, at the Priory, Shepherd's Hill Road.

*Islington.* Roman coins and pottery.

*Lower Clapton.* Sarcophagus, 1867.

*Millhill.* Lamps and Coins, 1769.

*Moat-Mount.* Remains of a small building and way thereto.

*Moorfields.* Roman burial ground.

*Old Ford.* Several burials.

*Westminster.* A bath still to be seen, by the Strand.

*West.—Brentford.* Roman pottery ware, amphorae, cinerary urns, bronze swords, silver and bronze coins, a mortarium (to be seen in the museum at the Public Library, Brentford).

*Chiswick.* In 1731 a Roman urn with coins at Turnham Green (Lysons). In 1905 during building operations at Sutton Court, the remains of a Roman bath,

<sup>1</sup> Theodosius, about A.D. 368, having defeated the Picts and Scots in the neighbourhood of Londinium recovered the booty taken from the tributarii. "Quam tributarii perdidere miserrimi." A. Marcellinus, xxvii, 8, 7. "Mon. Hist. Brit." lxxiii.

<sup>2</sup> "Hist. of Enfield," Robinson, 1823.

<sup>3</sup> "Gent's. Mag.," 1776, p. 169.



which has laudably been preserved as part of the cellarage, also a section of a carved stone pillar.

*Ealing.* In 1880 on The Mount, fragments of six Romano-British cinerary urns, Samian ware, portions of a Roman lagena, etc.

*Hanwell.* On Cuckoo Hill, in 1850, coins and pottery were found by the writer's father in Hanwell Park.

*Harefield.* At the end of Breakspear's Avenue, Roman sepulchres were discovered in 1818.

*Stanmore.* On Brockley Hill, where the British encampment is supposed to have previously stood, lay the Roman station of Sulloniacae, which was destroyed by the Saxons. Numerous Roman antiquities have been found there, including gold rings, coins, urns, two antique bronzes—the one representing a small lion, and the other the head of an Apollo. More will doubtless be discovered if and when this beautiful spot falls into the builder's hands.

“No heart can think, no tongue can tell  
What lies between Brockley hill and Pennywell.”

In 1781 whilst digging to plant trees in Great Stanmore Common, fifty gold coins were unearthed, viz., of the Emperors Constantine, Constantius, Valentinian, Honorius, etc., as well as two rings, a bracelet, and silver and copper coins, a silver plate inscribed “Honor” and a triangular frame of iron. (Gough's “Camden,” 1806, ii.)

*Harrow Weald.* In “Money Dell,” close to Bentley Priory, a number of Roman coins have been found, including one of gold of Vespasian (A.D. 70-79) and near by, in a brickfield, cinerary urns and a lamp.

*Shepperton.* Remains of Roman tessellated pavements have been found in this neighbourhood.

*Staines.* In 1871, near the Angel Inn were found Roman coins, pottery, and a bronze sword, and in 1880 by the High Street, a bath and some tesserae.

*COMPITA.* Forty-seven mother parish churches mark the sites of former Romano-British village *compita* or pagan chapels. Sixteen more are to be found within the mid-Saxon district now in Herts and bounded by the upper waters of the Colne and Lea. (See also on map the churches in adjoining parts of Bucks and Essex, p. 76.)

*COLDHARBOUR.* In Middlesex this strange name was to be found at Finchley, Hayes, Kingsland, by the Docks at Blackwall, and in London by All Hallows Church, Thames Street, marking the survey lines of *pagi*.<sup>1</sup>

<sup>1</sup> Various explanations have been given of this name, which in the past may have been in general use, since it is to be found in upwards of 140 places over England. (See “Notes and Queries” wherein there are forty-seven references.) “These places predominate in or near the old Roman roads, where there is a rise in the ground, and often on the very angle where a turn in the direction becomes necessary, not only in the occasional and forced deviation

from the main viaria, but also in those which were made for forming *diverticulæ* or cross communications," "Archæologia," 33.

Among the meanings suggested for Coldharbour in "Notes and Queries," that of "*collis arborum*" deserves further consideration in the light of what is now known of the Roman land survey in Britain. *Botontini* often have fir trees upon them, which, if so in the past, helped to indicate their positions as well as that of the *quintarial* line upon which a way might be found. Trees, it will be remembered, were used to mark boundaries. It is not likely that the word "*botontinus*"—a technical term of the *agrimensores*—was used by the rustic Romano-British, who would naturally call these hillocks by a name which expressed their appearance, viz; a mound surmounted with trees, which, shortened by usage to "*colarbor*" has now become coldharbour. Other names have been applied to these mounds, *e.g.* Greenhill; Salthill; Tothill; Fairymount; Honeslau, the dog's mount; Lawford, the ford by the mount.

## CHAPTER XI

### ROMAN TO SAXON TIMES

#### VICUS TO VILL—PAGUS TO HUNDRED—JUGATIO AND GELDAGE—DECANIA AND TITHINGS

##### Vicus to Vill.

IN this chapter, several features of the Roman agrarian system in the Middlesex area, will be shown to have been continuing during Saxon times, though one and a half centuries had elapsed between the withdrawal of the Imperial power from Britain, and the West Saxon invasion of the County, an historical period about which very little is known.

Up to A.D. 447 when Britain made her final and futile appeal to Rome for aid, the government of the Cantons was doubtless administered much after the former Roman manner, for as Mommsen has observed, "it was not Britain that gave up Rome, but Rome that gave up Britain."<sup>1</sup> However, as years rolled by, and dark days fell upon the land, the general tabulated law of the Empire would become less and less observed, until it disappeared under the Saxon regime, but this was not so as regards the regulations relating to the land, for agrarian customs, always the last to change, in those days vitally affected the daily life of the Romano-British community.

The rights and services of the former *Tributarii* and *Coloni* fixed by the usage of centuries, had become crystalized into a well known unwritten or customary law, and so firmly established that upon it was grafted, as we shall see, much of the Saxon manorial system, while its fundamental feature, the village farm with appendant pasturage, has lasted down to the enclosure of parishes in modern times. The *vicus* in relation to rural districts signified a definite area containing cultivated land, woods and common pasturage, with its inhabitants living in a group of buildings: in other words, a village, and of these a *pagus* would contain a pre-arranged number. As already shown, the Roman officials had planted in the Middlesex district many village settlements where the labour of the native

<sup>1</sup> When the British appealed to Rome for aid in A.D. 447 it is evident that they had not abandoned all thought of the return of the Roman government. On the other hand, in the hope of the restoration of its power, the Empire had never relinquished its claims to Britain, for in 537 Belisarius offered them to the Goths, in exchange for theirs over Sicily. "D. B. Gothico," ii, 6.

Catuvellauni had already made clearings in the primeval waste.<sup>1</sup> "During the four centuries of Roman dominion the population of the south of England reached a very high pitch of civilization and prosperity. Britain became at that period one of the chief corn producing provinces of the Roman Empire, and iron and tin were extensively mined. Even after the withdrawal of the Roman legion, the Roman civilization was maintained in the southern districts of Britain, and recent researches gave quite an attractive picture of country life. . . . The villages were carefully drained and the huts were constructed of wattle and tile. The pottery found included Samian ware; agriculture, spinning, weaving and metal work were carried on, and produce was taken to the nearest markets on wooden sleighs, but the villagers depended for their livelihood chiefly on their flocks and herds."<sup>2</sup>

The shape of the vicinal areas appears to have been generally rectangular, since the limits conformed to the parallel lines of the Roman survey, except where they abutted upon a stream, or ridge of hills forming a natural and irregular boundary to the local *pagus*. Even to this day the bounds of a few parishes in Middlesex show evidences of this early alignment.<sup>3</sup>

There was one great difference between the Roman and Saxon tenure of the soil of the country. Land in the provinces being conquered territory was by Roman law incapable of absolute ownership by private persons;<sup>4</sup> and as the Province of Britain was a personal domain (*in dominio*) of the Emperor, its soil vested in him, and could only be occupied or cultivated by others subject to his rights. On the lapse of the Imperial government in Britain, the rights of the Emperor passing first into the power of the Cantons, eventually came into the hands (*in manu*, hence manor) of individual Saxon proprietors, lay and ecclesiastical, who enjoyed them subject to certain military obligations due to the State.<sup>5</sup>

We will now deal with the three classes of agriculturists settled by the Imperial officials in the *vici* of the Middlesex area—viz, *Tributarii*, *Contributi* and *Coloni*, and see whether they do not continue during Saxon times, though then known as Geneats, Cosetlas, and Geburs.

<sup>1</sup> "Agrimetatio," Dict. of Antq., 86. Also "Grom. Vet.," 112, 201, 203.

<sup>2</sup> "The Times," Archaeologists at Devizes, W. Boyd Dawkins.

<sup>3</sup> E.g. Hanwell and Ealing; Harrow and Pinner; Enfield, Edmonton and Tottenham; Stanmore, etc.

<sup>4</sup> Gaius, ii, 7; "Agrariae leges," Dict. of Antq., 53; "Grom. Vet.," 35, 197, but a country estate (*villa rustica*) might be given outright for services rendered, or be purchased by an individual. It could amount to 1,000 jugera (5 hides) and contain a mansion house. The foundations of these buildings have been unearthed in parts of England, but so far not in Middlesex, which appears to have been cultivated in small holdings, and it is probable mostly under corn, a cereal which was largely exported. In the middle ages Middlesex was famed for the quality of its corn.

<sup>5</sup> Raising the fyrd or militia, the repair of bridges, roads, and defence works, these were known as the "Trinoda necessitas."



*Tributarii*.—These men it will be remembered were early settlers in newly laid out *vici*, and to constitute them residents therein, they were assigned by ballot a heritable holding or allotment consisting of strips of land in the several common fields of the village together with appendant common pasturage.<sup>1</sup> They were known as *Tributarii* from the payment of a land tax (*tributum soli*) which was distinct from *vectigalia* the rent from leased lands, etc.

*Contributi*—were the natives, the original owners of the land, who in exchange for their irregular patches, likewise received measured strips (*commutati pro suis*) in the village field. Out of a policy of clemency no rent was imposed upon such persons, who lived side by side with the imported settlers.<sup>2</sup>

*Coloni*.—To bring further unassigned land within *vici* under cultivation, holdings were leased at rents payable in kind, service, or money, and settled by custom. Such were known under the general term of *vectigalia*, and the lessees as *Coloni*, or tillers of the soil. They were originally free cultivators, but by the fourth century had become inseparably attached to the soil (*glebae adscripti*) and generally their lot was a hard one, for short of actual impoverishment, the provincial taxation of the later Empire was a heavy burden upon them.<sup>3</sup> We also know that both *Tributarii* and *Coloni* with their decurions or overseers were established in Britain, and that the former are mentioned as dwelling in the neighbourhood of *Londinium*, which would include the Middlesex area.<sup>4</sup>

Passing now to the Saxon period there is a law of Ine of Wessex, circa A.D. 688, which throws a ray of light with reference to fences upon the duties of those who had holdings in the common arable or meadow fields, "If ceorls (husbandmen) have common meadows, or other land divided in strips, to fence, and some have fenced their strip and some have not, and cattle eat their common acres or grass, let those who own the gap compensate the others who fenced their strip."<sup>5</sup> Hence to-day every man must fence in his own cattle. Later on, in a document of the tenth century known as *Rectitudines Singularum*, particulars are given respecting the several rights and duties of a Thane or lord of land, his Geneat, or fellow, of the Cotsetla or cottager, and of the Gebur or small farmer, though there were

<sup>1</sup> "Agrimetatio," Dict. of Antq., 86; "Grom. Vet.," 196, 201. "The principle upon which the original distribution depended was that of equalizing the shares of the members of the community. This led to the scattering and to the intermixture of strips. . . . It was a fair arrangement since it gave every person a share in each of the fields of the village farm, his holdings were equal with those of his fellows. . . . The open field system with its intermixed strips is quite a prevalent feature of medieval husbandry all over Europe." "Villainage in Eng.," Vinogradoff.

<sup>2</sup> "Agr. Leges," 51, and "Colonia," 479, Dict. of Antq., Smith; also "Grom. Vet.," 116.

<sup>3</sup> "Roman Prov. Admn.," 179, Arnold. "Colonatus," Dict. of Antq., Smith.

<sup>4</sup> Cod. Theo., xi, 7, 2; and A. Marcellinus, xxvii, 8, 7.

<sup>5</sup> "Ancient Laws of England," tit. King Ine, 42, p. 55, Thorpe.

necessarily some variations in the customs of each district as the last paragraph shows.<sup>1</sup> Briefly the duties were:

"Thane. He must be right worthy of the land he holds, and raise his share of men for the fyrd (militia), repair the burh's defences, bridges, etc. He pays alms fee and Church scot.

"Geneat.—He holds land by fixed services, *i.e.*, free tenure.<sup>2</sup> He pays yearly rent also on some estates, has to ride and carry, work and support his lord, mow, reap, make roads, keep head and horse ward, go errands far and near where directed, and pay alms fee and Church scot.

"Cotsetla.—He should not pay rent (landgafol) for his five acres more or less.<sup>3</sup> He defends his lord's demesne if required from the king's deer hedge, and from other things as befits his degree. He pays Church scot and hearth penny.

"Gebur.—His services are various, he pays rent for his virgate in money, kind, and with such work as required on two days weekly through the year in his lord's demesne; he ploughs, tends the fold, feeds the hounds, and does bene or extra work. He pays hearth money.

"Lastly a necessary warning is given, that who ever is placed over the district, should know what the old land customs are, as well as those of the people."

Thus a Saxon thane possessing as a manor, the whole or a part of a *vicus* or vill, held the demesne portion absolutely, and the remainder in villeinage, that is, subject to the ancient customary rights of the villani or husbandmen, who occupied holdings in the common fields, with pasturage appendant.<sup>4</sup> His rights appear to have been as absolute as those of the Emperor in colonial days, only there was then but one lord of land for all Britain. The customary rights and obligations due between the Saxon thane and his geneats, geburs, and cosetlas generally, seem to be but a continuance of those in existence between the former *tributarii*, *nativi*, and *coloni*, and their Imperial lord. Thus the *Tributarii* reappear as Geneats, rendering a fixed or certain rent (*libere tenens*) for their free holdings,

<sup>1</sup> Rectitudines, "Ancient Laws of England," Thorpe, p. 186.

<sup>2</sup> The nature of the services due from the tenement had to be considered, and at least in general a tenement which merely paid a money rent was deemed a free holding. Only that land is considered servile which owes labour: if it renders nothing but rent, it is termed free. "Villainage in Eng.," 215, Vinogradoff.

<sup>3</sup> In Middlesex the average holding of a Bordarius was 5 Saxon acres in a clearing bordering upon the common field. This points to the colonus as a later settler than the tributarius with his heredium in the common fields of the settlement.

<sup>4</sup> The arable portion of a manor usually lay in two or three great open fields, in each of which, strips held by the lord, by the free holders, and by the customary tenants, lay intermingled. "Hist. Eng. Law," Pollock and Maitland, 585.

As late as 1798 Middlesex contained 20,000 acres in common arable fields made up of small holdings, which were divided so as to lie in ten to twenty places and in all cases in long narrow strips. "View of Agriculture, Middlesex," 1789. "Serbia is to-day a country of small holdings . . . the fields are open and in strips, and the strips possessed by one owner may lie scattered a mile or more apart," "War Relief Fund Report," 1915.

which, as rights in villeinage, were heritable against all but the lord. The Cottager or Cosetla who still paid no rent, seems to have sprung from the ancient native class, who by force of customary law also continued to enjoy some of the rights conceded under the policy of the Roman administration. Lastly the oppressed *Colonus* of the Empire has his counterpart in the hard-worked Gebur with his uncertain and laborious service in addition to paying rent.

After the "Rectitudines" describing the nature of the services rendered by the thane, his villani and cottagers, the Domesday figures in the following century give the numbers of these three classes in Middlesex, of which the County fortunately possesses an exceptionally detailed return. There were then twenty-four overlords and about thirty-five mesne or greater tenants mentioned by name; 1,170 villani, including both geneats and geburs, who with bordars and cottagers, made 1,778 heads of families identified with agricultural holdings. The land of the Domesday county was thus possessed and occupied: in demesne—179 arable hides, and pasturage 136: in villeinage—348 arable hides, and pasturage 520.<sup>1</sup>

In the first distribution of land in the south-west district of Middlesex, some of the *vici* would be awarded to the principal West-Saxon warriors as the reward of conquest, with a condition, that they should render military and other aids known as the "Trinoda necessitas." They were also subject to the payment of various dues (*terra fiscalis*) for the benefit of the folk or community—as previously in the Roman period when the taxes went to support the army and the provincial government—hence, "folcsceara" or "folkland." In the course of time the *vici* or villi in folcland were granted freed from the latter restrictions to ecclesiastical corporations and lay personages under charter or boc (book of writings), by the King and his Council, and such possessions were known as "bocland." Bede in a letter to Archbishop Egbert<sup>2</sup> (A.D. 734) complained of the improvident grants of land to monasteries, which impoverished the Government, and left but little for the suitable maintenance of the soldiers and retainers of secular authorities, on whom the defence of the country mainly depended, for folcland was subject to many burdens and exactions, from some of which bocland was exempt.<sup>3</sup> William the Conqueror refers to this source of national weakness when he seized the manors of St. Alban which lay in Middlesex, and Domesday shows that by far the larger part of the County, and especially the villi in its middle section, were at that time in the hands of ecclesiastics. It is therefore not unfair to assume that at least some portion of the land granted to the Church, had previously in the Roman period been assigned (*concessi*) for municipal revenue, and amongst other public works, for the service of the state religion and the temples. If so, then a continuity of use for one purpose has existed to the present time, similar to that of the sites

<sup>1</sup> See *infra* ch. xiv on Middlesex Domesday Measures.

<sup>2</sup> Epistola ad Egbertum, § 11-12.

<sup>3</sup> See glossary to "Ancient Laws of Eng.," Thorpe.



of many parish churches in Middlesex, as already shown. Again, the former *vicus* with its long-familiar bounds<sup>1</sup> was not necessarily changed when it became a Saxon vill, and so it is quite possible that a few Middlesex parishes which to-day generally continue their Domesday area, may even aspire to approximately represent the extent of the yet more ancient Roman *vicus*. The Domesday Survey of the County shows that the bounds of thirty villas were coterminous with those of a manor held by a tenant in chief; and that each of the other villas had been parcelled out amongst several individuals. Thus, *e.g.*, the vill of Ickenham contained one manor of 1,115 acres<sup>2</sup> with two estates of 295 and 124 acres, held respectively by Earl Roger: Geoffrey de Manneville: and Robert Fafiton. The vill of Stepney consisted of four manors and seven other estates.

**Pagus to Hundred.**—From Saxon times the greater divisions of Middlesex have been known as “Hundreds,” and though now obsolete, have continued in use for some purposes until the end of the nineteenth century. The predecessor of the Hundred was the Roman *pagus*, which, as already mentioned, was a defined rural district containing settlers distributed in villages (*vici*) in accordance with the regulations for constituting the Londinium Canton. The origin of the term “Hundred” as applied to a district has given rise to much speculation,<sup>3</sup> chiefly from overlooking the continuance into the Saxon age of the Roman divisions of the land, with the system of its occupation and cultivation, both of which were closely bound up with the rights and duties of the agricultural population. On the lapse of Imperial control the necessities of the people obliged the continuance of the familiar system of rural economy, which having been in force for three and half centuries, was so interwoven with their lives, that it was observed as of common or customary law. The Roman survey of the county area shows that it has been divided into *pagi* each containing two divisions. In these had been laid out at the least forty village communities (*vici*) planted with settlers, who after being first arranged into groups of ten men (*decania*) were then by lot individually assigned arable plots in the fields of the new settlement,<sup>4</sup> together with appendant common pasturage.<sup>5</sup> Now it can hardly be supposed from the minute descriptions which

<sup>1</sup> If it should be alleged that the *vici* were indeterminate parts of the *pagus* (like a hamlet in a parish), then, when the latter was divided by the Saxons into several ownerships, appropriate ways and landmarks of the survey around each settlement or *vicus* would be adopted as the boundaries for the new villas and manors of Saxon thanes.

<sup>2</sup> The Manor was not a unit in the governmental system, the County was such a unit, so was the hundred; so again was the vill, for the township had many police duties to perform; it was an amerciable, punishable unit, not so the manor unless it coincided with the vill. Maitland.

<sup>3</sup> See “Const. Hist.,” i, 105 *n.*, Stubbs, where various views are enumerated.

<sup>4</sup> “Grom. Vet.,” 113 and 200. “Agrimetatio,” 7, Dict. of Antq., Smith.

<sup>5</sup> “datum est in commune nomine compascuorum,” “Grom Vet.,” 201; “quibusdam provinciis pro indiviso.” *Idem*, 43.



have been given<sup>1</sup> that this grouping of settlers by lot ended with the ballot for their plots of land. It further signified that henceforth each body of ten men and their heirs were, by virtue of their ownership in these particular plots, consorted together in the interests of the State as well as for the payment of tribute. These seem to have been collected through one of their number (*collectarius*) who acted as head man, after the manner of a *decanus* of soldiers, or of slaves under a *decurio*, for the Roman had a passion for working in bands of ten and hundreds, and their regulations were rigid.

If it be granted that the lowest step in rural economy was of this nature, then in the Middlesex area a settlement with fifty husbandmen would have five headmen, and a *pagus* laid out to contain ten such settlements 500 husbandmen, with fifty headmen of whom apparently five would be *decuriones*.<sup>2</sup> It is only reasonable to suppose that from the headmen the rural council was annually elected to attend under their *Magister* or *Centenarius*,<sup>3</sup> to the local sacred rites and minor matters in the *pagus*.<sup>4</sup>

The number of registered settlers to work upon the land, imported and native, originally fixed under the edict constituting the fertile and important canton of Londinium may have amounted to 5,000 or even a higher figure.<sup>5</sup> Adopting this number, then the proportion for the County area may be placed at 1,750, being at a rate of 500 husbandmen per *pagus*,<sup>6</sup> a figure which receives some confirmation from the Domesday returns referred to later on. But to this number must be added craftsmen, traders, the elder sons of husbandmen, the rest of the natives, shepherds, cattlemasters, swineherds, fishermen and slaves, in fact all those from whom in lieu of land taxes, a personal tax (*Tributum capitis*) had in the past been collected. In each *pagus* or hundred of the populous and long settled area of Middlesex, the original complement of husbandmen, together with those who followed other vocations, must have approached if it had not reached the

<sup>1</sup> "Grom. Vet.," 113, 200.

<sup>2</sup> Cod. Theo., xi, 7, 2. Rescript to the Vicar of Britain. "Unusquisque decurio per ea portione conveniatur in qua vel ipse, vel colonus, vel tributarius ejus convenitur et colligit," A.D. 319. They were legally obliged to make good any deficiency in the Imperial taxes of their district if caused by their misconduct as tax collectors. "Decumae," Dict. of Antq., Smith, 607.

<sup>3</sup> "Centenarius per pagos constitutus est: decuriones quadam minora exercent: collectarii qui colligunt populum." See full quotation from Walafrid Strabo writing early in the ninth century, given in "The Saxons in Eng.," ii, 428, Kemble.

<sup>4</sup> "Pagus," Dict. of Antq., Smith.

<sup>5</sup> The number of heads of families for a colony varied from two, three, four to six thousand. "Colonia," Dict. of Antq.

<sup>6</sup> Domesday Middlesex contained  $3\frac{1}{2}$  pagi. One half of the fourth *pagus* had been assigned to Herts when formed into a shire towards the end of the ninth century. Each *pagus* appears to have consisted of two distinct parts (see map). On the other hand, every such part *may* have been a *pagus*, making seven as against six Hundreds for Domesday Middlesex.

adopted standard of a thousand men, and therefore furnished one hundred groups or associations, each with ten men.<sup>1</sup> Hence the application by the Saxons of the term "Hundred" to an area which when filled should contain one hundred of such groups was a natural one. In those days every man had to be brought into a tything or group, which was an "association of ten men in common responsibility, legally enrolled in the frank pledge."<sup>2</sup> Thus arose the word "neighbour" from the Saxon words "neah," near, and "borh," surety. The minute returns from the Hundreds of Middlesex given in Domesday as to assessments (geld hides), number of husbandmen (villani)<sup>3</sup> and cottagers, with the extent of their arable and pasture land, testify to the existence of an exact and comprehensive scheme for working the land. This was an undertaking far beyond the powers of the rude Saxons to initiate, though capable of adopting it, for they had acquired a knowledge of its working in the *pagi* during the long period in which their raidings took place, before they conquered the country and made it their home.<sup>4</sup>

The returns indicate that the original *pagi* must have been laid and settled in pursuance of an elaborate scheme. In A.D. 1086 (according to Domesday the earliest data we possess) Middlesex taking its six Hundreds as originally three and a half *pagi* was thus partitioned.

<sup>1</sup> Since the three complete Roman *pagi* within Domesday Middlesex contained respectively 50, 52 and 50 saltus of land, mostly consisting of rough pasture and woods (which in the eleventh century, according to Domesday, covered over fifty per cent. of the face of the County) an allowance of 1,000 men, immigrants and natives per pagus, of whom half would be agriculturists, was not excessive. From time to time the number of decanias in a pagus would vary as the population rose or fell, but a paginal area for centuries identified as an assigned district for a hundred groups of ten men became, in Saxon and later times known as a "Hundred," though it eventually formed a mere division of a County irrespective of the number of its inhabitants. Among the ancient documents that have survived to our time the first mention of "Hundreds" is in a law of K. Edgar (A.D. 959-79), but it dealt with them as existing local government institutions, *e.g.*, "That men were to seek the Hundred Court in such manner as was arranged aforetime," thus declaring what was the Common Law respecting them, though it probably needed restatement after England had become united under one King. Whence did this common law arise? When civilization was swept aside by the Saxons, Roman law continued where by long usage it had become part of the daily life and necessities of the people, such as the economy of the village farm, the grouping of men in decanias, etc. The administration of the land, though first established under provincial law, was observed as of unwritten or common law for centuries after the Romans had left Britain. There is no trace of Roman law in that of the Saxons known to us.

<sup>2</sup> It is possible that this arrangement was applicable to both police and fiscal purposes, "Const. Hist.," i, 92, Stubbs. Anciently no man was suffered to abide in England above forty days unless he were enrolled in some tything or decenary. "Stephens' Coms.," i, 123, quoting the Mirror, ch. i, s. 3.

<sup>3</sup> Villani included both geneats and geburs.

<sup>4</sup> It took the Jutes 30 years to master Kent, and the West Saxons forty years to achieve the conquest of Hants and the Isle of Wight, which "sufficiently shows that the Britons were not mere 'Nithings' (men of naught)." "Political Hist. Eng.," i, 91, Hodgkin.

## HUNDREDS: WESTERN DIVISION

## EASTERN DIVISION

|                               | Helethorne. | Spelethorn<br>and<br>Honeslaw. | Delmetone<br>and<br>Gara. | Ossulvestane.    | Totals. |
|-------------------------------|-------------|--------------------------------|---------------------------|------------------|---------|
| Geld hides . . . . .          | 220         | 220                            | 220                       | 220              | 880     |
| Husbandmen . . . . .          | 337         | 390                            | 431                       | 620 <sup>1</sup> | 1,778   |
| Arable land: in areal hides . | 88          | 85                             | 83                        | 92               | 348     |
| Common pasture „ . . .        | 119         | 121                            | 139                       | 141              | 520     |
| Demesne land „ . . . .        | 70          | 70                             | 90                        | 85               | 315     |
| TOTAL . . . . .               | 277         | 276                            | 312                       | 318              | 1,183   |

From these returns it will be seen that:

(a) The geld hides, though of equal amount in four unequal sized hundreds, together amounted to about 75 per cent. of the total areal hides. Under the Roman system the *jugatio*, or assessment, was an ascertained figure imposed upon each of several areas of varying extent, so that a fertile district would bear the same amount as one which was more extensive but less productive.<sup>2</sup> Here while each full Hundred was assessed as to 220 geld hides, their respective areal hidage varied from 276 to 318 hides.<sup>3</sup> The same principle was followed in assessing the smaller vicinal areas within the Hundreds; thus ten geld hides were placed upon each of these Domesday manors:

|                      |                |
|----------------------|----------------|
| Harlington . . . . . | 10 areal hides |
| Drayton . . . . .    | 12.4 „ „       |
| Kingsbury . . . . .  | 13 „ „         |
| Kensington . . . . . | 13.8 „ „       |
| Eia . . . . .        | 14.4 „ „       |

<sup>1</sup> In Ossulvestane there were 202 Bordars and Cottagers compared with 123 in Delmetone and Gara. The presence of London having already created a suburban district would account for the greater number.

<sup>2</sup> Our existing land tax, with a quota placed on each parish one and a quarter centuries back, is the only tax now continued on this system. Taking two adjoining parishes then assessed at an identical figure, though one may have greatly prospered, they both still return the same amount of land tax.

<sup>3</sup> The Domesday Survey did not deal with road surface, which the Roman survey included. This area, with that of the wild beasts' park in Delmetone, which was also omitted, extends the Hundredal difference from 276 to 470 hides.



The difference in extent between Harlington and Eia was 4.4 hides, or 548 acres.

(b) In the Middlesex area the Roman usage of decimal figures continued through Saxon times, for in A.D. 1086, out of 54 Domesday villis, in 36 instances the geld hides were multiples of 5 or 10,<sup>1</sup> while amongst the other returns it is obvious that contiguous villis were in some cases merely subdivisions of once larger vicinal areas bearing decimal figures.<sup>2</sup>

(c) Though great disparity existed between the united area of the two western Hundreds with 553 hides, and that of the two on the eastern side of the County with 630, it is remarkable how nearly equal on both sides was the extent of arable land in villeinage, viz.,  $88 + 85 = 173$ ; and  $83 + 92 = 175$ . But such equality could not exist with the remainder of the land lying in wood and common pasture, or in demesne, for in these two particulars comparison can only be drawn between the respective Hundreds within each side of the County.

| WESTERN DIVISION |   |   |            | EASTERN DIVISION |                |   |   |            |            |
|------------------|---|---|------------|------------------|----------------|---|---|------------|------------|
| Common Pasture   | . | . | 119        | 121              | Common Pasture | . | . | 139        | 141        |
| Demesne land     | . | . | 70         | 70               | Demesne land   | . | . | 90         | 85         |
|                  |   |   | <u>189</u> | <u>191</u>       |                |   |   | <u>229</u> | <u>226</u> |

Even from these examples it is clear that the divisions and subdivisions mentioned in Domesday were not the result of a haphazard apportionment of the County area by the Saxons, or could have been created by them, but they were the survivals of an ancient and far reaching scheme which had once extended over the *territorium* of the Londinium canton, reaching from the Chiltern Hills across Middlesex and into Essex.

**Jugatio and Geld hides.**—With the aid of the exceptionally full returns for the Domesday Survey of Middlesex, together with the information derived from the centuriation of the Roman land survey with the existing *botontini* and landmarks, it may be possible to determine three vexed questions, viz.:

(a) The origin of the “five hide unit” of assessment, which with its multiples, is to be found in no less than 36 Domesday returns for Middlesex villis.

(b) What constituted the *jugatio* or local unit of land assessment, which as a part of the Roman agrarian system also appears to have continued into the Saxon period:

(c) Was there any relation between the *jugatio* and the “five hide unit.”

A learned writer has stated that “the five hide unit was undoubtedly an old

<sup>1</sup> Fifteen villis at 5; eight at 10; four at 15; three at 30; two at 35; and one each at 20, 40, 70, and 100. Mr. Baring, in his “Domesday Tables,” p. 91, by his grouping of geldage returns principally from the holdings of the Canons of St. Paul’s increases the number of instances to 40, viz., one at 5; two at 10; and one at 20.

<sup>2</sup> Thus Colham, Dallega, and Hillingdon, formed an assessment of 15; Shepperton, Charlton, and Sunbury made 20; and so did Staines and Ashford. (See tables *infra* in chapter on the Domesday Measures in Middlesex.)



institution, and the *possessio decem familiarum* of Bede seems to carry the decimal system back to very early days. Mr. Seebohm . . . though like others he had failed to discover the existence of the five hide system, saw in the *possessio* of Bede a connecting link with the Roman *decuria*, just as he saw in the Roman *jugatio* the possible origin of English hidation, and we must of course trace its artificial arrangement—either to the Romans, or to the Britons . . . or to the English invaders.”<sup>1</sup>

Now it will be convenient to commence to trace the origin of the “five hide unit” from the conversion in Middlesex of its seven Roman semi *pagi* into seven Saxon hundreds<sup>2</sup> which occurred towards the close of the ninth century. This was consequent upon the treaties of A.D. 876 and 886 between King Alfred and Guthrum, the Danish chief, which greatly affected the County area. Under the first, the *pagi* east of the Edgware Road, passed under the Dane-law, while ten years later, after Alfred had captured London from the Danes, the Lea became the boundary. The King then gave the province of London as a personal possession to his son-in-law Ethelred, a leading ealdorman of Mercia, and it was during his governance that the Middlesex hundreds were apparently resettled, probably just as they appear in the Domesday Survey two centuries later.

The position in A.D. 886 was as follows: The Middle Saxon, or Mercian portion of the former East Saxon kingdom undoubtedly extended above the present northern boundary of Middlesex, and at least to the upper Colne and Lea. On organizing his province, Ethelred appears to have constituted the district between this boundary, the treaty line of the Lea, and thence westwards, as an administrative area, probably under its own Shiregemot, the commencement or southern half of the later Hertfordshire.<sup>3</sup> The district remaining below or south of the boundary then became the County of the Middle Saxons, having a gross area of 1,456 hides (181,706 acres) which has since remained the extent of the geographical County of Middlesex. But of these land hides Domesday only dealt with 1,183, certain detachments and forestal stretches being omitted for reasons explained in a subsequent chapter.<sup>4</sup>

Now Domesday records that Helethorne and Ossulvestane Hundreds each bore a geldage of 220, which was also the case with the other four Hundreds when united

<sup>1</sup> “Feudal England,” 92, Dr. J. H. Round.

<sup>2</sup> The large Hundred of Ossulvestane is here treated as lying in two parts, east and west of the Edgware Road.

<sup>3</sup> Edward, son of Alfred, having later, in A.D. 911, extended his frontier to the Blackwater in Essex, probably increased the earlier Herts to its present size. On the death of his brother-in-law the ealdorman in the previous year, the King retained possession of London and the land that pertained thereto.

<sup>4</sup> They included the districts of S. Mimms; Edgware, the “wara,” or fiscal appurtenance of G. Stanmore; Finchley; the wild beast’s park at Enfield; and the forest from Sudhawe (Barnet), to Hornsey; and the strip to London stone.

in pairs, and since the centuriation in these hundredal divisions shows that covering the same area were earlier semi *pagi* conforming both in number, and generally in shape and situation to those Hundreds, are we not justified in assuming that the geldage borne by the Hundreds was likewise a relic from Roman times? If so then the figure of 880 was part of a definite sum placed upon the Londinium canton, to be apportioned amongst its territories, and then distributed downwards in equal amounts of 220 upon each *pagus*.<sup>1</sup> After the departure of the Romans their census as was more than probable was not revised, and the Domesday geldage of A.D. 880 represented that census merely adjusted to meet the alterations of boundary after the second treaty between Alfred and Guthrum, and distributed in decimal proportions amongst the vicinal areas, of which thirty-six instances of its survival in A.D. 1086 have been given. This geldage was not superseded until A.D. 1166.

The centuriated area of Domesday Middlesex—mapped several years before this investigation was conceived—shows that the seven Roman semi *pagi* contained 176 *possessae* or square areas of land (see map). According to the *gromatici veteres*, a *possessa* contained 1,300 *jugera*, and the slightly smaller area or *saltus*, 25 *centuriae* or 1,250 *jugera*.<sup>2</sup> The difference of 50 *jugera* (1 *centuria* or a virgate) was allocated as already explained for ways of access, balks, plough headlands, and being unproductive would not be reckoned in the *jugatio* or assessment upon the productive part, the *saltus*, or net area of a *possessa*.<sup>3</sup> It is therefore remarkable that if each of the 176 *saltus* bore for its *jugatio* that constant numeral 5, the total would be 880, the same as that of the Saxon geldage.<sup>4</sup> Taking this total to have been the assessment for the area of the seven Hundreds,<sup>5</sup> both before and after Ethelred's adjustments, then 5 was the *jugatio* or "five geld hide" unit upon 25 *centuriae* or  $6\frac{1}{4}$  hides of land in Middlesex.

In earlier Saxon times the geldage does not seem to have been utilized for the public service, for it may be questioned whether any "money taxation, properly so called, ever existed before the imposition of Danegeld by Ethelred the Unready."<sup>6</sup>

<sup>1</sup> The surveyed areas along the Northern Thames valley were of considerable extent. A centuriated survey extended in one alignment from the botontinus (Salt Hill, Slough) across the Colne to the botontinus in Syon Park, Isleworth; another stretched from Brentford into Essex.

<sup>2</sup> "Grom. Vet.," 110 and 158. The laterculus or early centuria of 100 actus or 50 *jugera* was used in the Londinium canton, and generally in Britain.

<sup>3</sup> It seems that the assessment was distributed per half acres—"ad modum ubertatis per singula jugera," "Grom. Vet.," 205. This was in Pannonia between the Danube and the Alps. Conquered 33 B.C.

<sup>4</sup> The 176 *saltus* contained 1,100 land hides as against 1,183 for the seven Domesday Hundreds of Middlesex, the difference of 83 hides, or 10,340 acres, lay in the marshy fringes of the three rivers with other waste (*subseciva*) beyond the outside lines of the surveyed portions of the *pagi*; and the borderland strips between the adjoining parallels of such *pagi* which are not reckoned as within the *possessae* (see map).

<sup>5</sup> See note 2 on previous page.

<sup>6</sup> "Const. Hist.," i, 118, Stubbs.

In Imperial times, when Britain was an appanage of the Emperor, the *tributarius* rendered to Cæsar his quota towards the *jugatio* upon his *vicus* in kind, money, and even by service,<sup>1</sup> and such customs after the lapse of centuries were observed as of common law. In the 'Rectitudines' the services are set forth which in general were due to and from Saxon landlords in the tenth century, though the old time land customs varied in detail in different villis. This indicates that the original tribute was not and naturally could not have been uniformly rendered in every settlement area of a *pagus*.

Reverting to Ethelred's boundary, a line partly natural and partly artificial, it will be seen that it involved the loss of two woodland villis on the northern slope of Helethorne Hundred (now Bushey and Rickmansworth, in Herts): and the exclusion of the Cheshunt detachment which had pertained to that of Adelmetone. This obliged the ealdorman to recast the areas of the Hundreds, by which Gara conjoined with Adelmetone, was enlarged westwards to take the Pinner-Harrow district out of Helethorne. In turn the latter Hundred was considerably extended south of the Uxbridge-road to include Harmondsworth, Cranford and the Norwood precinct, hitherto within the Spelethorne and Honeslawe *pagi*, and so their geldage fell from 260 to 217. The changes apparently resulted thus:

| <i>Pagus.</i><br>(a) | <i>Saltus</i> in<br><i>Pagus.</i> | Hides in<br><i>Pagus.</i> | Hides in<br>Hundred. | <i>Jugatio</i> of<br><i>Pagus.</i> | Geldage of<br>Hundred. | Hundred.                           |
|----------------------|-----------------------------------|---------------------------|----------------------|------------------------------------|------------------------|------------------------------------|
| 1                    | 50                                | 312.50                    | 318                  | 250                                | 219 <sup>2</sup>       | Ossulvestane 1 & 2.                |
| 2                    | 52                                | 325                       | 276                  | 260                                | 217                    | Honeslawe and Spelethorne 3 and 4. |
| 3                    | 29                                | 181.25                    | 277                  | 145                                | 222                    | Helethorne 5.                      |
|                      | 21                                | 131.25                    | 186                  | 105                                | 152                    | Gara                               |
| 4<br>(half)          | 24                                | 150                       | 126                  | 120                                | 70 <sup>3</sup>        | Adelmetone } 6 & 7.                |
| Total                | 176                               | 1100                      | 1183                 | 880                                | 880                    | Total for Middlesex.               |

(a) Paginal names unknown.

<sup>1</sup> "Vectigalia," Dict. of Antq., Smith. See also Columella, 1.

<sup>2</sup> This decrease may be attributed to the devastating raids of the Danes who wintered at Fulham in A.D. 879. The Saxon manor of Fulham contained, according to Domesday, 12,187 acres, with only 137 land workers. Acton, Chiswick, and Ealing, though within the manor, are not mentioned by name, though they appear to have been *vici* in Roman times.

<sup>3</sup> Here the decrease arises from the very low geldage upon Tottenham, the greater part of which then lay in woods.



**Decania and Tithing.**—Having, it is hoped, shown that in Middlesex the Saxon “five geld hide” unit was merely the earlier Roman *jugatio*, a further question now arises—was there any relation between the *jugatio*, and the *decania* of landholders? The Roman *decania* was apparently a nexus of ten men connected by association in the cultivation of the common farm of their settlement<sup>1</sup> and for the payment of land tribute (*tributum soli*). Some such associations were continuing in the time of Bede, who was living one and a quarter centuries after the East Saxons became supreme over the Middlesex area—since he refers to the land holding in north Britain of *decem familiarum*<sup>2</sup> which in later Saxon times was called a “teothung” or tithing.

“It is quite possible that the term was a relic of the same system that the Hundred itself represents, that as the Hundred was the sphere of the Hundred Court, so the tithing was the sphere of the tithing man, and that the arrangement being found applicable to both police and fiscal purposes, was used for a personal as well as a territorial division.”<sup>3</sup>

Earlier in this chapter 2,250 land settlers were, under other considerations, given as the number allotted by the Roman Commissioners<sup>4</sup> for the territory within the three rivers in the Londinium canton, or say 1,750 heads of families for the district of the seven semi *pagi*, now Middlesex, to be distributed in village settlements of one or more *decaniae*, as the nature of the soil or native clearings permitted. Can this be supported from Domesday by the number of men returned as holding land in the village farms of the County? Now the seven semi *pagi* under review with 175 *decaniae* would register 1,750 landholders, and the number of men returned in Domesday is 2,166 for the same area. But from this latter number must be eliminated 388 cottagers, serfs, etc., who through *not* having holdings in the common farms of the villi—the nucleus of the ancient agrarian system—were not returned under one or other of the usual formula, e.g., ‘three villani each have one virgate,’ or ‘three cottagers have 10 acres.’

The Domesday number when thus revised, omitting the 50 overlords and mesne tenants non-existent in Roman times, comes to 1,778 men distributed over the County in tithings as shown in the following table:

<sup>1</sup> *Mensura peracta sortes dividi debent, et inscribi nomina per decurias per homines denos*, “Grom. Vet.,” 113.

<sup>2</sup> Bede, iii, 24. “Singularae vero possessiones decem erant familiarum.” In King Alfred’s translation of Bede’s Hist., *possessio* became “hida landes.” In Middlesex a hide = 124.6 statute acres, and so each of the ten men held roughly half a virgate in the village farm. Of these holdings there were 448 in Domesday Middlesex.

<sup>3</sup> “Const. Hist.,” i, 92, Stubbs.

<sup>4</sup> “Colonia,” Dict. of Antq., 479, Smith. It is estimated that in the Londinium canton number was fixed at 500 per pagus.



|                                      |              |                                  |
|--------------------------------------|--------------|----------------------------------|
| Ossulvestane, E. and W. <sup>1</sup> | . 620        | landholders in 62 land tithings. |
| Honeslawe and Spelethorne            | . 390        | „ 39 „ „                         |
| Helethorne                           | . 337        | „ 34 „ „                         |
| Gara and Adelmetone                  | . 431        | „ 44 „ „                         |
|                                      | <u>1,778</u> | <u>179</u>                       |

These figures are very close to the 1,750 land settlers for the same district, previously suggested, as the allowance by the Roman commissioners. If their Roman origin is conceded, then the *jugatio* of 5, the *saltus* or 778.8 acres of land on which it was assessed<sup>2</sup> together with the number of allotted landholders, though under different appellations, were generally continuing in Middlesex at the close of the Saxon period. Again, the 1,778 Domesday landholders and the 176 *saltus* of the Roman period point to a general average of 10 landholders per *saltus* over the whole district. Further, Domesday returned the annual value of Middlesex villis in the reign of the Confessor, at £898, or only 18 pounds higher than their geldage. This surely points to annual value and geldage having at one time been identical, so that the five unit *jugatio*, or later geld hides really expressed a monetary value. If so, then the annual return in early times can be estimated upon a valuation of £5 in A.D. 1066, or in modern value about £125 per 6¼ hides of land perhaps once identified with a *decania* or a tithing of landholders.

Besides the Roman land tax there was a poll tax (*tributum capitis*) “to reach people who had no land, and this was paid in Britain.”<sup>3</sup> Such persons may have been grouped into separate *decania* for the poll tax, and forming in Saxon times those personal divisions or tithings to which Dr. Stubbs alludes. In Middlesex they would include traders, millers, craftsmen, herdsman, fishermen, the elder sons of land-holders, also the landless cottagers, serfs, with perhaps some of the mesne tenants and burgesses mentioned in Domesday.

These personal or poll tax tithings when added to those of the landholders in village farms went a long way to make up the standard of 400 full tithings for Middlesex, or 100 groups of ten men for each of its four original divisions—hence the term “Hundred.” But prior to Domesday the term must in places have lost much of its early meaning, and rather signified a district without reference to the

<sup>1</sup> In certain estates chiefly in Islington vill, the numbers of men are only returned, without specifying the amount of land they held either severally or in groups.

<sup>2</sup> It included the common pasturage appendant to the landholder's joint and several farm. Domesday shows that the County was then divided in the proportion of pasturage and woodlands 657 hides, to 504 for cultivation. See ch. xiv.

<sup>3</sup> “Vectigalia,” Dict. of Antq., Smith. See also for the Eastern Empire. Cod. Theo. as to dues “per viginti juga seu capita”; “in triginta jugis seu capitibus interim annua solutione défendant”; “ad eundem numerum in capitibus seu jugis,” vii, 6, 3. “Pro capitibus seu jugis suis tantum pensitationem atque obsequia recognoscant,” xi, 16, 6.

original number of its tithing men. After the terrible ravages of the Danes in the County (978-1016) it is doubtful whether any of the four great Hundreds of Middlesex could in A.D. 1086 have produced 100 full tithings. But this is a subject somewhat outside the question of Saxon tithings of landholders arising out of the *decanie* of the Roman agrarian system.

Lastly, it seems possible to extract from Domesday, a store house of information, that there were a few villas so little changed during the course of centuries—for nothing is so slow to change as matters connected with the land—that they generally show a continuance of some of the four leading features of Roman settlement, either singly or in multiples, viz.: The five unit *jugatio* upon 25 *centuria* or 778.8 acres: the *decania* of ten land tribute payers: and the village *compitum*:

| Vill.            | Geldage. | 778.8 acres. | Landholders. | Compitum. |
|------------------|----------|--------------|--------------|-----------|
| Hanworth . . .   | 5        | 810          | 8            | c         |
| Hampstead . . .  | 5        | 810          | 7            | —         |
| Lilestone . . .  | 5        | 750          | 7            | —         |
| Cranford . . .   | 5        | 657          | 11           | c         |
| Drayton . . .    | 10       | 1,544        | 17           | c         |
| Kingsbury . . .  | 10       | 1,636        | 22           | —         |
| Stanmore, L. . . | 9.5      | 1,540        | 13           | c         |
| Greenford . . .  | 15.5     | 2,430        | 19           | c         |

Out of 54 villas in Middlesex 36 have the “five geld hide” unit or its multiples, and 47 villas have the mother church on the site of the previous *compitum*, as explained in a previous chapter.

## CHAPTER XII

### THE SAXON PERIOD (I)

THE COMING OF THE SAXONS INTO MIDDLESEX—THE SAXON SETTLEMENT—WARFARE AFFECTING MIDDLESEX—EAST SAXON KINGS—MIDDLESEX CHARTERS

#### The Coming of the Saxons into Middlesex.

AFTER the Cantons of Britain had been urged by Honorius "to look after their own safety," those of Londinium, Colonia, and Verulamium, which covered much of the former territory of the Catuvellauni and were therefore in some degree of affinity with one another, would probably form themselves into an alliance or "loose confederacy" to repel the renewed inroads of the Picts and Scots, as well as to check the constant ravages of piratical Saxon bands from across the sea. This would be strengthened by the inclusion of Kent and East Anglia, the seaboard of which were guarded by castellaries and stations hitherto under the control of the Count of the Saxon shore, an admiralty jurisdiction established by the Romans *circa* A.D. 280, with headquarters at Boulogne.<sup>1</sup>

The States of Britain having in A.D. 447 made a futile appeal to Rome for assistance to repel the inroads of their enemies which were becoming increasingly dangerous, three years later hired mercenary troops of Jutes, who, having subsequently quarrelled with their employers, defeated them in A.D. 457 at the ford of the Cray, when many Britons forsook Kentland and fled with much fear into Londinium.<sup>2</sup> After two more battles in A.D. 465 and 473, Hengist, the Jutist chief established his rule over the Britons in Kentland.

No information has come down to us as to the date of the fall of the town and Canton of Londinium, a subject on which there is much difference of opinion—*e.g.*, hear what a learned professor says: "London doubtless fell with the rest in some unrecorded overthrow in the early fifth century."<sup>3</sup> Another writes, "Somewhere about the middle of the fifth century has been assigned for the end of the Romano-British Cantons on the S.E. of Britain."<sup>4</sup> A third laments that "What went on within the Roman walls after that fatal year (A.D. 457) we know

<sup>1</sup> They included Porchester: Anderida: Dover: Richborough: Reculvers: Othona: Camulodunum: Garriorum: Dunwich: and Brancaster.

<sup>2</sup> "Anglo Saxon Chronicle," An. 457.

<sup>3</sup> "Roman Lond.," Jour. Roman Studies, Prof. Haverfield, i, 171.

<sup>4</sup> "England before the Conquest," Oman, 209.



not: there was silence everywhere, and it lasts for a century and a half,"<sup>1</sup> that is, until Bede mentions that London in A.D. 604 was the metropolis of the East Saxons, and the mart of many nations resorting to it by land and sea.<sup>2</sup>

"We can hardly err in believing that it was the capture of London by the East Saxons which at last enabled the Jutes to force their way across the border and march, in A.D. 568, on the track to the west."<sup>3</sup> If so, then in that year the Saxons defeated Ethelbert, the young King of the Jutes, at Wibbasdun (Wimbledon)<sup>4</sup> and drove him back into Kentland. Lastly we hear that "from the Roman times onward the position of London as a great free commercial town was probably uninterrupted,"<sup>5</sup> which harmonizes so well with, "Good reasons may be given for the belief that even London itself for a while lay desolate and uninhabited."<sup>6</sup>

Since such divergent opinions exist, we may see whether Middlesex herself has not something to unfold about her history, and can throw some light upon this vexed question. Now London, we know, was an important town well protected both by nature and by art, and, owing to its waterway and port, capable of sustaining a long siege before succumbing through starvation. The *territoria* surrounding London, "the land that owed obedience thereto," was guarded on the north-west by the Chiltern range of hills clothed with thick forest, which latter also spread eastwards into Essex, and its remaining sides by the treacherous marshes of the Thames and Lea, for by the middle of the sixth century the former Londonium territory extending into Essex must have fallen to the East Saxon invaders. Within this well protected quadrilateral dwelt, as we know, a considerable population, augmented from time to time by those who fled into it from small towns and stations, before the Saxon hosts advancing from the east and west. The question to be considered is, which of the three foreign clans, the Jutes in Kent, the Saxons from Essex or from Hampshire, were in sufficient numbers and strength after the middle of the sixth century to capture Londinium and settle in Middlesex. Before doing this we must review the coming into Britain both of the East and West Saxons.

By the end of the fifth century bands of Saxons had obtained footholds along the coast of Essex, and having captured the castelleries of Othona (Bradwell) on the mouth of the Blackwater, and Colonia (Colchester) they gradually spread over that county area, which, as the Roman centuriation shows, contained many village settlements. Advancing by degrees along the route of the Roman main road from Colchester to London, sporadic bands of these early invaders, as yet unorganized

<sup>1</sup> "Hist. of London," Loftie, 51.

<sup>2</sup> "Ecel. History," Bede, 2, ch. iii.

<sup>3</sup> "The Making of England," Green, i, 128.

<sup>4</sup> In his history of Surrey Malden locates the battle at Wipsedune, by the Staines road near the heath of Chobham.

<sup>5</sup> "Anglo-Saxon Britain," Grant Allen, 150.

<sup>6</sup> "Arch. Journal," xix, 217, article by Dr. Guest, who does not give his reasons.

under the command of a single chief or king, would be easily checked from entering Middlesex territory owing to the broad marshes of the Lea, which then extended from Hertford to London. The only crossing places were, at Chingford (the king's ford) opposite to Edmonton, and at Old Ford, both guarded positions, where the East Saxons would meet with stout opposition from the men of Middlesex and London, whose numbers had been augmented by the Romano-Britons who had been driven out of Essex. Barred on this side from raiding through the fertile fields of Middlesex, the "east coast" Saxons working up the valleys of the Chelmer and Colne, and by the Roman main way through Braintree, Bishops Stortford, and Braughling (*Adfines*) in time overran what is now eastern and southern Herts, and by the middle of the sixth century had laid Verulamium in ruins, a town which covered 450 acres.

On becoming more numerous and organized, the East Saxons may have attempted an attack on Londinium by an advance through northern Middlesex, but that side the County, well protected by a broad belt of forest stretching from the Chilterns to Essex, was only pierced by Watling and Ermine Streets, which, like the fords of the Lea, could be easily blocked and held by resolute defenders.<sup>1</sup> In addition, along the ridge of the line of hills from Harefield to South Mimms were camps at Ruislip, Brockley Hill, South Mimms, Hadley, and Bush Hill in Enfield. Therefore unless by strong and concerted action, the East Saxons would in those early days have experienced great difficulty in forcing their way into Middlesex on its northern or eastern borders.<sup>2</sup> The East Saxons were never very numerous or powerful, and their subsequent kingdom at its best was of small extent, and generally under subjection to a neighbouring state. On the other hand it is quite possible that sporadic bands of Saxons made raids into Middlesex as well as through other parts of Britain, causing the misery and loss of life which Gildas so deplored.<sup>3</sup> An armed and organized band suddenly raiding upon small isolated settlements will generally accomplish its purpose. Such flying incursions, like those of the Danes through the County in the tenth century, would be distinct from its subsequent conquest and subjugation, followed by the settlement which

<sup>1</sup> Abbot Fretheric, of St. Alban's, in A.D. 1066, blocked the road against the army of William I, who subsequently retaliated by forfeiting many of the possessions of the Abbey, including Finchley, Friern Barnet and Hornsey, in Middlesex.

<sup>2</sup> In "The Making of England," Dr. Green, without perhaps fully considering local obstacles, says that the invaders crept through the woodlands of Hampstead, or by the valleys of the Brent and Colne. This view the writer followed in an early paper, which he now feels cannot be supported.

<sup>3</sup> From the beginning of the sixth century the Saxon invaders began their gradual advance westwards over the south of England, and though checked for more than thirty years after the battle of Mount Badon, circa A.D. 520, they were completely victorious over the whole of the south of England by the end of the century. Archaeologists at Devizes, Address by W. Boyd-Dawkins, "The Times."

substituted Saxons in the place of Romano-Britons as masters over the cultivators of the soil, who otherwise continued to labour at their customary toil.<sup>1</sup>

Trouble now arose on the western side of the County from the Saxons of Hants and Berks, who first landing with five vessels in A.D. 495, had by the middle of the sixth century grown into a powerful clan, known as West Saxons, under Ceawlin their king. Advancing in A.D. 568, not long after their capture of Silchester (Callewa), the forces of Ceawlin passed along Tamesis Street to Egham, and thence striking south of the Thames, in A.D. 568, defeated Ethelbert the young Jutish king of Kent at Wibbasdun (Wimbledon).<sup>2</sup> Three years later in A.D. 571, the men of Wessex under Cuthwulf the king's brother, crossed the Thames at Wallingford, and, after winning a battle at Bedford, took Aylesbury and the Chiltern district, which latter had hitherto formed the wild borderland of the western territory attached to the Londinium Canton, and "it may be supposed that Essex and East Anglia yielded not long after the homage which gave Ceawlin the imperium of which Bede speaks."<sup>3</sup> Middlesex now lay open to the West Saxons on its most accessible side, with little protection from the channels of the Colne, which could be crossed without difficulty at many places.

The extent of the West Saxon advance into the County, can be traced by the local place names indicative of war and strife, which lie dotted about the western half of Middlesex. Eastwards of Watling Street such names are not to be found, and after the close of the sixth century the Middlesex district was free from conflicts until the Danish troubles began in A.D. 842, by which date the vills had been known by their Saxon names for nearly two and a half centuries. After crossing an arm of the Colne, the West Saxons apparently met with opposition at a spot called Boneditch near Staines—(*bona*, a spear): while near Ruislip another conflict is indicated by "Bonefield." In Harefield (*Herefelle*) on the wooded high ground commanding a wide view across the Colne into Bucks, was situated a military enclosure. "*Here*" a troop of soldiers stationed where the trees had been *felled* and cleared for a camp. While near by at the end of the avenue at Breakspears is "Deadmen's Grove" which recalls an ancient conflict. A little to the east lay Rislepe, or the "enclosure by the marshes,"<sup>4</sup> and the lines of this, from which the place took its name, can still be traced between Ruislip Church and the boggy banks of the river Pinn. Not far away stands the conical hill known as

<sup>1</sup> The English degraded their Celtic serfs to their own barbaric level and the very memory of Roman civilization almost died out of the land. "Anglo-Saxon Britain," Grant Allen.

<sup>2</sup> It took the Jutes thirty years to master Kent and the West Saxons forty years to achieve the conquest of Hampshire and the Isle of Wight. Leicester fell A.D. 550 and Salisbury in 552. Chester did not fall till A.D. 613.

<sup>3</sup> "England before the Conquest," Oman, 246; "Ecc. Hist.," Bede, ii, 5.

<sup>4</sup> In a letter from Prof. Skeat. The enclosure traced on the Ordnance map must from its name have been constructed in pre-Saxon times.



Hast hill, otherwise the "hill of fury or violence," indicating a position where a fierce (*haest*) conflict had occurred.

After crossing the Colne above Staines, other West Saxon bands would naturally advance across the wild heathland (Hounslow), by Tamesis Street to Brentford, in order to secure the great ford of the lower Thames. Others of the invaders proceeding down the waterway of the Thames seem to have encountered opposition at Shepperton.

"March 1867, in Upper West field near Chertsey Bridge where the road from Shepperton is nearest to the Thames at a point known as Dumpsey deep—eight skeletons were found lying on their backs 3 feet below the surface, as well as a bronze fibula and an iron spear head. Near by in November was unearthed another skeleton with the head covered by the umbo of a shield and an iron sword 35 inches in length. They were considered to be Saxon remains."<sup>1</sup>

On being attacked from the land and waterside, Brentford with its two camps would soon fall into the enemy's hands, and an entry thus effected at this important spot, would be followed by an advance into the heart of Middlesex, along the ancient way leading northwards from the ford, possibly to co-operate with other West Saxons who had crossed the Colne higher up and entered the County near Harefield.

About three miles north from the great ford of the Thames, on the southern slope of Cuckoo Hill, round which the Brent makes its turn to the south, the advancing Saxons met with a decided check, and the field of strife has since been known as "The Bloody Croft" (until about 1905 when it fell into the builders' hands), and from this engagement Hanwell is supposed to derive its present name, a corruption from *Heanwael*: slaughter on high ground.

On this occasion the Romano-British retained the place of battle, for the Saxons retreated towards Brentford to bury their dead in a spot about a mile away and brought to light in 1886.

"When the labourers were digging gravel at Hanwell, they discovered the remains of skeletons, evidently of warriors as their spears were also found. They had been buried in coarsely woven hemp garments fastened over the breast with round bronze brooches, of the saucer pattern peculiar to the West Saxons. They were plated with gold and covered with characteristic designs; the wearers had evidently been persons of some note."

In the photograph of these brooches will be seen a remnant of the hempen garment, attached to one of the back loops of the centre brooch.<sup>2</sup> Mr. Seward, the owner of the gravel pit, informed the writer that the remains were found on the site of the County Schools, Oakland road, Hanwell—once heathland. There were

<sup>1</sup> Soc. Antq. 1868, Series II, vol. iv. Paper by Dr. Shurlock.

<sup>2</sup> Taken by the writer to whom the brooches had been lent.

about seven graves, four feet in depth, and adjoining them had also been buried over fifty iron spear heads, some even being in a state of fair preservation.

Midway on the ridge uniting Cuckoo and Hangar Hills<sup>1</sup> and guarding the ancient northern way as it led down to cross the Brent (*Bregant*) at Perivale, stood a protected place "Castel-beorh" lately known as "Castle-bar" or "bear," and now "Castlehill," in Ealing. To the north on the further side of the Brent, from Harrow to Hendon stretches the Hundred of Gore—"Gara," a spear, a name evidently derived from the strife within its borders, betwixt the Romano-British and the invading Saxons. In Perivale rises the well known hill of Horsendon from which once floated the Saxon standard of the "White Horse" (*Horsa-dun*)—where some stiff fighting must have occurred before the invaders occupied this commanding height.<sup>2</sup> Equally important then from a military point of view were the adjoining hills of Harrow (*Herge*, an army), and Sudbury (south camp) as their names testify.

A little way off on the east there was an encampment on the high ground of Uxendon hill; while Deadmen's hill, Wembley,<sup>3</sup> perhaps marks a site of this ancient strife. After passing Belmont hill, which bears traces of early trench work, the West Saxons appear to have advanced upon Sulloniace which they laid in ruins, hence "Stanmore," stones by the mere or pool to be seen at the summit of the hill at Stanmore. It was a Romano-British station as well as a place of residence pleasantly situated on Brockley hill, where the remains of buildings, works of art, gold coins, have been discovered, while on its eastern side, over which Watling Street runs, the outlines of a rectangular station can still be faintly traced.<sup>4</sup> East of Watling Street there do not appear to be any place names in Middlesex indicating warfare or camps, except that of Hendon (Celtic, a fort on high ground) while in those days, along the north-east borders of the County stretched wild forest lands<sup>5</sup> beyond which lay the territory of the East Saxons in what is now Herts and Essex.

<sup>1</sup> On the S. E. side of Hangar hill (wooded slope) lay a farm known as Ruckholt—the wood of rooks, *i.e.*, a rookery.

<sup>2</sup> There are traces that this hill has been fortified at a remote period. "Chron. Greenford Parva," Allen Brown. "Among the most sacred animals of the Aryan race was the horse. Tacitus tells us that the Germans kept sacred white horses at the public expense. The White Horse rampant forms the cognisance of Hanover and Brunswick, and the English settlers brought their national emblem to Britain, cutting its figure on the chalk downs, as Berks and Wilts now bear witness. It is also the symbol of Kent. Hence it is not surprising to learn that in the legendary story of the first colonization, the Jutish leaders, who led the earliest Teutonic host into Thanet, should bear the names of Hengist and Horsa, the stallion and the mare," "Anglo-Saxon Britain," Grant Allen.

<sup>3</sup> It is supposed that the rites of Woden were afterwards observed at Wembley.

<sup>4</sup> Mr. W. Martin, F.S.A., was the first to notice this. It adjoins Watling Street and measures about 130 × 120 yards.

<sup>5</sup> Scratch wood (in private ownership) is one of the few small remnants of this once extensive forest.

It seems unlikely that the West Saxons forced their way into East Middlesex, or ever laid siege to London.

In fact, after the wide-spread opposition encountered from a numerous local population, they seem to have been content, at all events at first, to confine their early settlements, *ham*, *ton*, and *worth*, to the south-western and more fertile district of Middlesex. Of this there is much evidence, as will presently be shown. But the middle section of the County, where the Romano-Britons were more numerous, as the absence of *ham* and *ton* in place-names indicate, the extension of individual Saxon ownership must have been slower than in its south-west district. There the *ham* and *ton* and *worth* settlements commenced towards the close of the sixth century, though it can hardly be supposed that even in that district the Saxon immigrants were in sufficient numbers to exclusively fill it: or that it was their policy to exterminate the husbandmen, the former *Tributarii*, *Coloni*, and *Nativi*, who would cultivate the soil for their new masters,<sup>1</sup> though until the Danish raids called upon both races to defend the land, there could hardly have been any real amalgamation between them.<sup>2</sup>

Other causes soon operated to relieve the West Saxon pressure in Middlesex. In A.D. 577 the forces of Wessex were engaged in another direction, where they won a great victory at Deorham, near Bath; but their power, was soon to be shaken at the battle of Feathanleah in A.D. 584, and to be followed by a crushing blow when, seven years later, Ceawlin was defeated at Wanborough, on the downs above Swindon. The waning power of Wessex after Feathanleah afforded Ethelbert, the Jutish king of Kent, the opportunity to avenge his early defeat by Ceawlin at Wibbandsun, and with the help of his nephew and vassal Sebert, king of the East Saxons, he must have advanced at this date to overrun Middlesex and secure London.<sup>3</sup> That walled town could only have fallen after a protracted siege

<sup>1</sup> "The Saxon invasion did not destroy what it found in the island, Roman villas and their labourers passed from one lord to the other, that is all." "Villainage in England," 34, Vinogradoff. "After a conquest by another race. . . it is more likely that the customs of the conquered race should remain as the basis of future practice, though altered to some extent in form and more in spirit, than that the previous customs of the conquerors, which they had followed . . . on a different soil amidst other surroundings, should be imposed on the conquered people." "Eng. Peasantry and Enclosure of Com. Fields," Slater, I. As to the survival of the Romano-Britons, see evidence from skull measurements and other sources. "Anglo-Sax. Britain," ch. vii, Grant Allen.

<sup>2</sup> The Romano-Britons were a mixed nation, and Marcian (A.D. 250) "Mon. Hist. Brit.," xviii, says that there were thirty-three nations and fifty-nine celebrated towns in Britain. The auxiliary forces of the Roman legions stationed in Britain had been drawn from several barbarian races in the Empire. So possibly there was a want of unity amongst the people and their cantons, which helped the Saxon invaders.

<sup>3</sup> In the second half of the sixth century an alliance between the Royal Houses of Kent and Essex was effected by the marriage of Ricula, sister to Ethelbert, with Sleda, King of the East Saxons. This doubtless enabled a successful attack to be made on London and Middlesex by their joint forces. Ethelbert continued to increase his power, and by A.D. 597



which ended in A.D. 586.<sup>1</sup> The strife must have been fierce, for in that year Theonus, the Romano-British Archbishop of London, fled into Wales, seeing all the churches destroyed, taking with him those priests who had survived the massacres.<sup>2</sup> London, with its territory west of the Lea, now owed obedience to Sebert, so that by A.D. 604 the town had become known as the metropolis of the East Saxons, and was continuing, as in the Roman period, to be the busy mart where traders from all parts of England met merchants from beyond the seas.

The dark period enshrouding events in Middlesex now becomes clearer, since Bede narrates that by A.D. 604 London had become the mother city of the East Saxons. During the first half of the seventh century the East Saxons continued the settlement of Middlesex, after which it fell under the influence of a third body or clan of Saxons coming from Mercia, the middle kingdom of England, by whom it was finally annexed, as it furnished the necessary outlet for trade from central England; *via* Watling Street to the Thames and the commercial port of London, or to the Kentish ports.

**The Saxon Settlement.**—This appears in Middlesex to have commenced about A.D. 571 after the capture of half of the Londinium territory by the West Saxons, when fertile lands in the south-west portion of what is now the County, were allotted as rewards amongst those of the victorious followers of Ceawlin who had accompanied him out of Wessex.<sup>3</sup> The settlement there is indicated by the prevalence in the local place names of the Saxon suffixes of *ham*, *ton*, or *worth*. “Ham” denotes not only the place where a Saxon headman with his family, which might include his relations and associates, had made his home, but also the land in connection with it, often comprising an entire vill, a “home of settlers in a defined locality.” “Ton” and “Worth” (*weorthig*) possessed much the same meaning, and with the further significance that the homestead, together with the collection of husbandmen’s cottages, were protected by a common fence or hedge, within which the cattle of the vill might also be herded.<sup>4</sup>

his imperium had extended over the eastern side of England up to the Humber. About this time he was converted to Christianity.

<sup>1</sup> See sketch of a section of London wall, ch. xii, *infra*.

<sup>2</sup> Matthew Westminster, also Richard of Wendover, and Geoffrey of Monmouth.

<sup>3</sup> In the flush of victory, the allotment of an entire *vicus* or *vill*, would cover all customary rights pertaining to the land in demesne, together with the lordship over the open cultivated fields with their pasturage appendant in the occupation of the tillers of the soil, *i.e.*, the *Tributarii* and *Coloni*, now to be known as Geneats and Geburs. To have exterminated these men, or to have deprived them of their holdings, would have been a suicidal policy, and would have thrown out of gear the cultivation of the land on which the lives of all depended. See also “Saxons in England,” i, 21, Kemble; “Decline and Fall,” ch. xxxviii, Gibbon.

<sup>4</sup> In Shepperton and in some other south-west parishes of Middlesex, the word “cow farren” was to be met with. It was a West Saxon term for half an acre in the common pasture on which the owner could tether a cow. This is evidence of the West Saxon settlement in the county. See also ch. iv, *supra*.

The names of the following twenty-two vills and hamlets ending with three test suffixes, show the extent of the West Saxon settlement in south-west Middlesex<sup>1</sup>:

HAM: Colham; Feltham; Laleham; Twickenham.

TON: Charlton, *Cerdenton*; Drayton; Hatton; Hampton, and Hampton Wick, *Hamntona Wiccium*; Harlington, *Herdington*; Heston, h<sup>2</sup>; Kempton, *Cheneton*; Lampton, h; Littleton, h; Shepperton; Sutton, h; Teddington, *Totyn-ton*<sup>3</sup>; Whitton, h; Worton, h.

WORTH; Harmondsworth, *Hermodsworth*; Hanworth; Isleworth, *Gistelsworde*.

The remaining nine vills in south-west Middlesex acquired names mostly from local features. These are:

Bedfont, *Bedefund*, place of baptism; Cowley, cowpasture; Exeford, or Ashford, a ford over a branch of the Colne, otherwise Ux or Exe; Halliford, *Halgeford*, holy ford; Hillingdon; Staines, *Stanes*; Stanwell; Sunbury; Yiewsley.

The middle district of the County spread over the later Hundreds of Helethorne (northern half), Gara, and Osulvestane, and within it, with a few exceptions consisting mostly of hamlets, there is a remarkable absence of the three characteristic suffixes of Saxon place-names. For this several reasons may be assigned, viz.:

That the woodlands of northern Middlesex with their heavy soil were not so attractive to the West Saxon invaders as the fertile level to the west and south of the Brent, while doubtless many of them were already in possession of "hams" and estates in what is now Hants, Berks, and Bucks. That amid the woodlands and hills of the future Hundred of Gara (strife of spears) the intruders must have met with fierce opposition from the Romano-Britons, who on falling back before the West Saxons from the south-western parts of the County had assembled in considerable numbers in the central district, so that the men from Wessex were not able to bring them into subjection. In consequence, the middle district of Middlesex was apparently not parcelled out amongst the West Saxon men, and by the time the East Saxons had become supreme over the County, nearly three-quarters of the vills in the middle district were not identified by names bearing the three distinguishing endings, but had acquired others derived from local objects or incidents.<sup>4</sup> These names had become too well established

<sup>1</sup> Many of the following places mentioned in the Saxon settlement of the county will be found in Middlesex charters, or in Domesday.

<sup>2</sup> "h" here indicates a hamlet or demi-vill, a subsidiary settlement within a Domesday vill.

<sup>3</sup> From a survey mark or mound, being a Roman *botontinus*. The Saxons often named such mounds "Tothill," a look-out place. This mark stood by Bushey Park Gate until removed in 1810.

<sup>4</sup> With the exception of Colne, the river bounding the *Colonia* on the west and north-west; Londinium, also known as Augusta; Rislepe; Pontes, Staines, from the bridges over the

to be changed when the vills eventually, and probably peacefully, passed into the possession of East Saxon ecclesiastics and lay persons.

In this central district there are forty-one names of places with various endings. They are:

Edgware, *Aegceswer*, *Egge-wara*; <sup>1</sup> Barnet, *Sudhaw*; Brentford, h, *Bregantforda*; Chelsea, *Chelched*; Chiswick, h, settlement by river beach; <sup>2</sup> Dalston, from a Roman Survey stone; Dawley, *Dallega*; Ealing, h, (?) *Jelling* from a Danish settlement; Eia; Finchley; Greenford; Hanwell; Hampstead; Harefield, *Herefelle*, clearing for a camp in the wood; Harrow, *Herges*, military station, but often called *Hearh*, a temple; Hayes, *Hesa*, *Hege*, hedge enclosure for catching roebuck; <sup>3</sup> Hendon, *Heandune*; Haggerstane, *Hergotestane*; Hoxton, *Hochestane*; Harlesden, *Heruvelstane*; "Stane," from a Roman Survey stone; Hornsey, *Haringeshay*; Islington, *Isendone*; Kingsbury, *Chingesberie*; Lisson, *Lillestone*; Northolt, *Northala*; Neasdon, h; Norwood; <sup>4</sup> Perivale, h; Pinner, h; Ruislip, *Rislepe*; enclosure by the marsh; Rugemere; Roxeth, h, *Hroces Seadum*, a rookery; St. Peter's, Westminster; St. Pancras; Stanmore, *Stanmera*, stones, i.e., ruins of Sulloniace by the pool; Stepney, *Stibenhede*; Sudbury, south camp; Tiburne, the brook with two mouths; <sup>5</sup> Tothel, a look-out mound, probably a *botontinus*; Twyford, *Tueverde*; Wembley, h, *Wembala*; Willesden, *Wellesdone*; Yedding, h, *Geddinges*.

If the original Middle Saxon district bounded by the upper Colne and Lea be

Thames and two arms of the Colne; Sullionace, Stanmore; Uxenden; the pre-Saxon names of the streams, villages and pagi have disappeared.

<sup>1</sup> It was at one time the "wara" of Great Stanmore, though separately assessed, otherwise Great Stanmore would have been of less extent than Little Stanmore, as it is at the present time. "When land was an appurtenance, *quoad* ownership of a Manor in one township, but was assessed in another in which it actually lay, the land was said to be in the former, but its 'wara' in the latter." "Feudal England," 115, Round.

<sup>2</sup> See note 2, p. 120 *infra*.

<sup>3</sup> This vill derives its name from a line of hedge extending from both sides of an enclosure or trap, into which roebuck and other animals were driven and captured. Adjoining lay Norwood and Wood End, so it was evidently a woodland district. "*Haiæ* were the enclosures for catching roebucks, as they are specially called in the Domesday of Shropshire and Cheshire. The duty of making these deerhays is often referred to." The Domesday Inquest, 167, Ballard. The enclosure here may have stood in Hayes Park, near Hayes End, where the Uxbridge Road takes a semi-circular course. This was not far from the hamlet of Yedding, and in Offa's Charter of A.D. 790, land was given *in linga haese et geddingas*, i.e., at the end of the hedge and by the sowing land.

<sup>4</sup> Norwood apparently was an original vill transferred to Helethorne Hundred in the reorganization of the county area towards the end of the ninth century, and subsequently annexed as a precinct of Hayes.

<sup>5</sup> Rising at Hampstead, the brook flowed through what is now Regent's Park, Marylebone, the back of Brook Street, Berkeley Square, Brick Street, and the Green Park, where it is divided—one arm going into Westminster where it made the delta or island of Thornea, on which now stands *inter alia* the Abbey Church and the Middlesex Guildhall, the other passing by Buckingham Palace and entered the Thames above Vauxhall Bridge.



included, the following fifteen vills now in Herts may be added as against one ending with "ham," viz., Aldenham. They are Amwell, Arkley, Bayford, Broxbourne, Cheshunt, Elstree, Essendon, Hertford, Hoddesden, Northaw, N. Mimms, Ridge, Shenley, Totteridge, and Wormley.

The vills and hamlets with the characteristic endings in the middle district are :

HAM: Fulham, *Fuleham*, muddy homestead by the Thames marshes; Ickenham, *Ticheham*.

TON: Acton, h, amid oak woods; Alperton, h; Kenton, h;<sup>1</sup> Kensington *Chenesiton*; Paddington, h, *Paddingtune*;<sup>2</sup> possibly a Danish settlement; Preston, h; Sutton, h.<sup>3</sup> These were mostly settlements probably made from incursions up the waterway of the Thames.

Lastly, in the Adelmetone Hundred and eastern portion of the County lie the vills of :

HAM: Tottenham, *Toteham*, probably from a look-out mound, a tot-hill, or *botontinus*.

TON: Edmonton, *Adelmetone*, once known as *Sayesburye*, with its *berewic* or Forest Manor of South Mimms. These two places, with Newington, *Newetone*, and *Tolentone*, were probably settled by East Saxons after A.D. 586, and subsequent to the capture of London. This Hundred derives its name from the vill of Adelmetone, and prior to the reorganization of the County by Ethelred, son-in-law to King Alfred, *circa* A.D. 986, as a former Roman *pagus* it seems to have extended north into what is now Herts. (See map.) The remaining vill in this Hundred is Enfield, *Enefelde*, where there was a chase or hunting ground containing a park or enclosure for wild beasts, such as deer and wild boar, etc.

**Warfare affecting Middlesex.**—After the conquest of the Middlesex district by the Saxons, already described, there is no record of actual strife within its borders until the Danish raids began two and a half centuries later. Indirectly, however, the County area may have been affected by external warfare, *e.g.*, in

<sup>1</sup> The hamlet of Kenton in Harrow, which great vill was connected with the see of Canterbury, as well as Kentish Town and Kenwood, were hamlets which may have arisen from the migration of a few Jutes from Kentland. A close connection was existing prior to A.D. 676 between Kent and Middlesex, for in that year Suebred, *rex Cantuarum*, son of Sebbe *rex East Saxonorum*, jointly with his father, *consensu patris mei Sebbe regis*, signed a charter concerning land in Thanet. C. D. 14: B. 42.

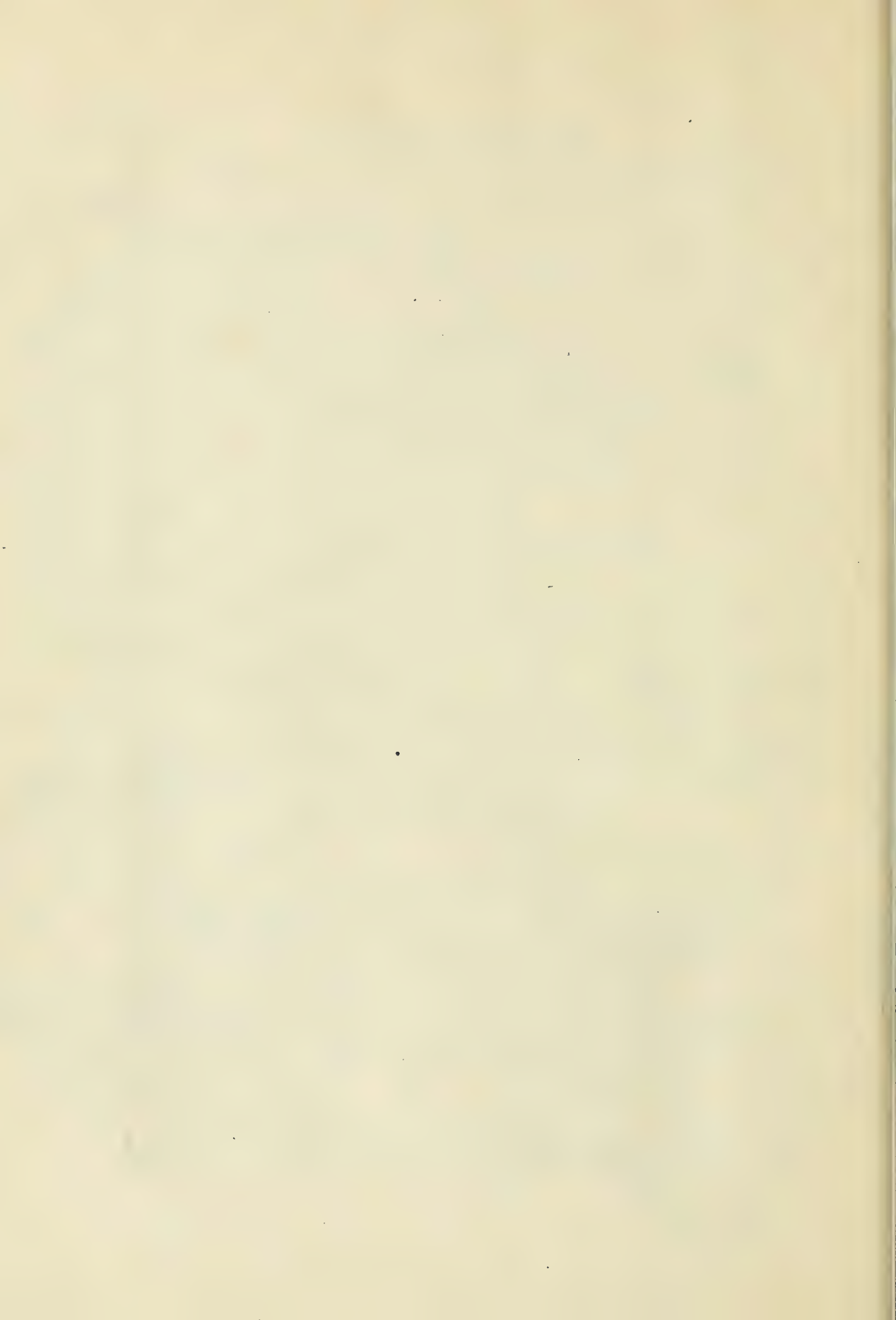
<sup>2</sup> C. D. 1223; and B. 1050.

<sup>3</sup> Sutton a hamlet in Chiswick. Some idea can be obtained of the enclosed area of this small homestead and its protecting hedge, from the semi-circular course of the highway round Sutton Court on its west side—a small portion of which still exists.



WEST AND EAST  
SAXON 'HAM' TON & WORTH SETTLEMENTS  
In Provincia Middelsexorum.

D. .... Domesday Villages.  
h. .... Hamlets in Villages.  
Montagu Sharpe  
1918.





A.D. 617, when Seaward and Seaxred, sons of Sebert, and joint kings of the East Saxons, fell in a dispute with Cynegils of Wessex; in A.D. 665 from any part taken by the men of the Middlesex district in opposing Wulphere of Mercia, before he was recognized as suzerain over the East Saxon kingdom: and by any action in A.D. 676, when Ethelred of Mercia passed through the district on his way to Kent which he cruelly ravaged, for at that time an alliance of some nature was existing between the kingdoms of Essex and Kent.<sup>1</sup>

A.D. 693. In consequence of the victories of Ine of Wessex, it is probable that not only Sussex, but also Essex and Kent, for a few years yielded him some sort of homage,<sup>2</sup> but Coenred of Mercia soon regained the Mercian suzerainty over the East Saxons, since in A.D. 704 he jointly signed a charter with Suebread of Essex granting land at Twickenham in what is designated for the first time the *province* of Middlesex. (C.D. 52: B. 111).

752. Ethelbald of Mercia (A.D. 716-57) who signed a Middlesex charter of A.D. 716 (C.D. 65; B. 134) and subsequently another (C.D. 101; B. 182), lost his supremacy over Essex and the south-eastern district on his defeat by Cuthred of Wessex. But in A.D. 777, Offa, the great king of Mercia (A.D. 757-96), defeated Wessex at Bensington, and *inter alia*, recovered the province of Middlesex, which from this time seems to have remained severed from the rest of the East Saxon kingdom and brought directly under Mercian influence.

825. Beornwulf of Mercia (A.D. 823-5) was defeated at Ellandun by Ecgbert of Wessex, who in A.D. 829 annexed Mercia, and deprived Wiglaf its King of his throne, which was restored in the following year.

842. The province of Middlesex was disturbed by the Danes, who arrived in a great fleet and attacked London, where there was slaughter.

851. The heathens, as the Danes were called, sailed to the Thames in 350 ships under Roric: and after attacking Canterbury, came on to London, which they stormed and plundered, though Beorhtwulf of Mercia (A.D. 829-52) marched to its defence with the fyrd (levies) of the Midlands. The Danes afterwards passed over into Wessex, where they were defeated with much slaughter at Basingstoke.

871-2. There was further trouble in Middlesex when Halfdene and his Danish host went up from Reading to winter in London, and "lived apparently on the

<sup>1</sup> A.D. 676. Charter by Suebheard of Kent, Sebba of Essex, and Ethelred of Mercia. C.D. 14: B. 42.

Again in A.D. 696 Suebheard of Kent with his overlord Caedwalla of Wessex (A.D. 685-8), in conjunction with Sigheri of Essex and his overlord Ethelred of Mercia (A.D. 675-704), jointly signed a charter dealing with their respective local donations (C.D. 40). The kingdom of Essex included the counties of Middlesex, Herts, and Essex. It is worthy of note that in the nineteenth century the Ordnance map marks land in Essex, at East Ham on the north of the Thames, as being part of Kent.

<sup>2</sup> "Eng. Before the Norman Conquest," Oman, 327

country around, until Burhred of Mercia (A.D. 852-74) bought peace and bribed them to depart."

874. Halfdene, having marched into the Midlands, dethroned Burhred and reduced Mercia to a vassal kingdom. Middlesex and London, being part of that kingdom, came under the power of the Danes.

878. In this year, under the treaty of Wedmore between King Alfred (A.D. 871-900) and Guthrum, the Danish King (ob. A.D. 890), it is generally assumed that so much of the province of Middlesex as lay east of Watling Street (Edgware Road) continued under the Danelaw, but in A.D. 886, after Alfred had captured London, under a revision of this treaty the Lea was constituted the boundary so far as this province was concerned between the Danes and the English.<sup>1</sup>

879. Another Danish host arrived in their ships and wintered in Fulham. At that time this great vill extended westwards as far as Hanwell, and the place where the Danes laid up their vessels will be found in the creeks of the two streams which respectively entered the Thames at Hammersmith and Chiswick.<sup>2</sup> The site of their encampment seems to have been near by, and still known as Padaswick Green ("Pada," a raven, the standard of the Vikings,<sup>3</sup>) which adjoined the grounds known as Ravenscourt Park, now a public recreation ground, while its name happily preserves a link with these far-off stirring times on Middlesex soil. In the next year the Danes who had sat down at Fulham went over the sea to France, probably in disgust from not being able to induce Guthrum to break the peace with Alfred.

886. After much fighting Alfred took London from the Danes, and having restored the town and made it habitable, he subsequently placed the government of the Province of Middlesex and London in the hands of his son-in-law Ethelred, an Ealdorman of Mercia, and husband of Aethelflaed, "Lady of the Mercians."

<sup>1</sup> Charters: B. 856-7.

<sup>2</sup> "Wick" is found in both Anglo-Saxon and Norse names. With the former it was a station or abode on land, with the latter a station for ships, hence a small creek or bay. The sea rovers derived their name of "vikings" or "creekers" from the wics or creeks in which they anchored. "Words and Places," Taylor.

"Hampton Wick" is of Saxon origin. It is referred to as *Hamtona juxta Wiccium Emptorium* in a Middlesex charter of A.D. 716 (C.D. 65; B. 134) for "the first ships of Danish men that ever sought English kins'land" took place on the shore of Wessex in A.D. 787.

<sup>3</sup> When the breeze extended the Danish standard of the Black Raven, and the bird depicted thereon seemed to flap its wings, the creekers considered this to be the happy augury of coming victory, and the reverse when the emblem would droop still and lifeless. Asser's Chronicle, 60.

This standard was emblematic of Odin, the chief Scandinavian deity—"Two ravens sit on Odin's shoulders and whisper in his ear the tidings and events they have heard and witnessed. They are called Hugin and Munin. He sends them out at dawn of day to fly over the whole world, and they return at eve towards meal time. Hence it is that Odin knows so many things, and is called the Ravens' God." "Northern Antiquities," Mallet, p. 430.

895. A large force of Danes went up the Thames, and entering the Lea they towed their vessels to where the tide ends about a mile above the Old Ford, and pushed them into the marshland creeks at the mouths of the Hackney brook. The "pagans" then proceeded to erect a stronghold higher up on the banks of the Lea, not far from the hart's ford (*Heorutford*) where Eadward, son of Alfred, subsequently founded the town of Hertford. But the citizens of London, fearing that the proximity of this piratical horde would prove dangerous to their peace, with some assistance from their neighbours, attacked the creekers and eventually obliged them to fly to their stronghold. This may have been the fight which took place on the low ground known as Dainbottom, by Stroud Green, Hornsey.<sup>1</sup>

In the meantime the King having arrived with some forces, he disposed them so as to guard the cornfields "while the people reaped their crops" about the city, and at other parts adjoining the Danish host, and then rode along the Lea carefully inspecting its banks and course. Having "espied that the channel might be in such sorte weakened that they should want water to return with their shippes, he caused the water to be abated by two great trenches, and setting the Londoners upon them wherein they lost four captains and a great number of their common soldiers." The rest of the Danes then fled into their stronghold, but having been deprived of the use of their ships, means of egress, and of succour and supplies, were so hard pressed that they forsook all, and suddenly fled across England to the Severn side, leaving their vessels a prey to the Londoners, who, breaking up some and burning others, conveyed the rest to London.<sup>2</sup>

"The little river must have been filled from bank to bank for miles with the warcraft—long black clinker-built galleys of beautiful lines, light enough in draught to float in such a stream as the Lea, yet seaworthy enough to face the stormy waves of the North Sea and the Channel."<sup>3</sup> A well-preserved specimen can be seen at Christiania.

There is but little doubt that the trenches which King Alfred caused to be cut are the same that branch off by the Hackney-wick (*Haccen-ea-wick*, the cutting of the landing-place by the stream) above Old Ford. The trenches rejoined the Lea a little below the crossing of the present Stratford road which subsequently took the place of the Old Ford road.

Here is another account in verse:

This Prince Alfred in many a fight their forces still defy'd  
The goodly river Lea he wisely did divide

<sup>1</sup> The jury of the Manor of Newenton Bawe in May, 1448, presented that Dainbottam Lane laid unrepared.

<sup>2</sup> See "Life of King Alfred," Spelman, ed. by Hearne, 1709; Lambard's "Top. Dict. London," 1730, p. 194; Saxon Chronicle, A.D. 896; H. Huntingdon, A.D. 896; and John of Brompton.

<sup>3</sup> "Alfred in the Chroniclers," p. 43, Conybeare.



By which the Danes had then their full fraught naives tew'd  
 The greatness of whose streame besieged Hartford view'd  
 This Alfred whose foresight had politiquely found  
 Betwixt them and the Thames advantage of the ground  
 A puissant hand thereto laboriously did put  
 And into lesser streames that spacious river cut  
 Their ships thus set on shore (to frustrate their desire  
 Those Danish hulks became the food of English fire."<sup>1</sup>

For the next century Middlesex was free from the Danes, but in the latter half of the reign of Ethelred (A.D. 978-1016) "the unready," or "the redeless," that is, destitute of counsel, the County suffered much at their hands.

993. Olaf Tryggveson with Sweyn (Forkbeard) King of Denmark, worked up the Thames to Staines with a fleet of ninety-three vessels, and harried about the district. In a forty acre field known as "Warclose" within the grounds of Shepperton Manor House, swords, spurs, and a great quantity of human bones have been dug up.<sup>2</sup> These may relate to a forgotten battle with Olaf Tryggveson, King of Norway, when seeking to destroy the Cow-way stakes at Shepperton,<sup>3</sup> which would help to bar the passage of the river to the Danish vessels on their way to the *hythe*, or landing-place, higher up at Staines. Returning down the river in A.D. 994 on their way to Sandwich, Olaf and Sweyn laid siege to London, but without success.

1009. Thorkil, "the tall," accompanied by his brother Heming, and Eglaf, or Eilif, a jarl, with a formidable body of vikings from Jomborh, on the Oder, crossed the sea, and having wintered their ships by the lower Thames, "fought against London, but praise be to God that it yet stands." The host then went through Middlesex and the Chilterns to Oxford, which they burnt, and then returned along both sides of the Thames as far as Staines, from whence they went into Kent to their ships, having heard that a force was gathered against them at London.<sup>4</sup>

1011. The English Chronicle for this year laments the terrible state of the country, after the Danes had overrun and plundered Middlesex, Herts, Essex, Surrey, and nine other counties, with portions of three others.<sup>5</sup> In the same way

<sup>1</sup> Drayton's "Polyolbion," 1662, p. 197.

<sup>2</sup> S. of Antiq., paper by Dr. Shurlock, 1868, Series II.

<sup>3</sup> A staked way across a new or northern channel of the Thames (now its main course) to 18 acres, part of 59 acres of cow pasture land of the villani in Shepperton. The land was divided into half acre portions (*jugera*) known as "cow farrens," a Wessex term, and was known as "Coway Sale" from willow trees growing there by the edge of the river, or possibly from the sale or neck hoop by which the cows were tethered. It signified "the way across the river to the cows' pasture." See ch. iv, *supra*.

<sup>4</sup> "The earliest work of the marauders," says Dr. Green, "was to seize horses; once mounted they rode pillaging into the heart of the land." "Conquest of England," ii, 100.

<sup>5</sup> Danes caught pillaging churches were skinned, and their skins nailed to the doors of the church they had attacked. A piece of dry hard skin was found underneath the head of a

did Gildas (*circa* A.D. 545) deplore the early ravages of the Saxons before they had conquered the land and intended to establish their settlements therein.<sup>1</sup>

1013. Sweyn, from the Surrey side, attacked London, which he endeavoured to enter by its bridge, but Olaf, who with Thurkil had entered Ethelred's service, destroyed the structure so that it fell into the river, and with it went a large number of Sweyn's men, and so for the fourth time within twenty years the townsmen beat off the Danes. Sweyn then—probably crossing by the great ford of the Thames at Brentford, soon to prove the scene of disaster to his son's troops—took his forces through the County and along the north bank of the Thames to Wallingford, and having passed over went on to Bath. In the following year he died.

1015. At this time one of the bands of Danes in Ethelred's service was stationed in Middlesex between Thorney Island and the River Fleet at a place now known as St. Clement Danes, and their massacre, as well as that of their companions stationed in Essex, was planned to take place during Yuletide festivities. Armed men were smuggled into their stronghold, concealed in wagons tented over, ostensibly laden with merchandize for the mid-winter market. But a warning reached the men through a woman who wished to save her lover, one Thord, and Eilif Thorgilsson, who was in command, made his escape with three ships to Denmark.<sup>2</sup> Thurkil, brother to Heming, who had been slain, appeared a few weeks later in Denmark, and after making his peace with Cnut, joined his expedition against England, which in the following year sailed in a great number of ships.

1016. Cnut advancing from the north of England, laid siege to London, where Edmund "the Ironsides," son of Ethelred, had been crowned on 24 April, just prior to its investment. By tracing the movements of these two young kings during the next few months it can be ascertained with almost certainty, how many times in pursuit of each other they passed through Brentford on the Western road, from whence arose the saying "There cannot be two kings of Brentford."

Quitting London after his coronation, Edmund passed through the County

long nail on the door of the Chapter house of St. Peter's monastery, Middlesex. It was human and had belonged to a fair-haired person. "Curiosities Nat. Hist.," Buckland. Similar specimens have been found at Copford, Hadstock, S. Benfleet, and Castle Hedingham, Essex: also at Worcester Cathedral.

<sup>1</sup> From the landing of the Jutes in Kent to the settlement of Middlesex by the West Saxons was 120 years, and from the first coming of the Danes into Middlesex in A.D. 842 until Cnut became King of England in A.D. 1016 was 174 years. Any antagonism between the Roman-British and the Saxons disappeared in their efforts to repel the Danish invaders.

<sup>2</sup> The Thingamen or Danish mercenaries were not allowed to be absent at night, and when a great bell was rung they gathered unarmed at the church which was the opportunity for their attack by the English. "Danmarks Riges Hist.," i, 383; "Canute the Great," Larson, 1912; "Pre-Conquest Lond.," Lethaby, 113.

town on his way to the West to collect his forces—1; was followed by Cnut—2; and a battle took place between them at Penn, near Gillingham. After midsummer they again fought at Sherston and then for the third time gathering some forces, Edmund slipped past Cnut and returned to London and relieved its siege—3. Two days later he was back at Brentford to meet Cnut—4; who had followed him up from the West, and there he routed the Danish King—5; and drove him across the ford<sup>1</sup> into Kent. While Edmund repaired into Wessex to raise a muster the Danes renewed the siege of London, “but the Almighty God delivered it” on his return to its relief—6. Thereupon the Danes escaped in their ships to the Orwell, but subsequently entered the Medway. The English King, having for the fourth time assembled an army went over the Thames at Brentford into Kent—7; when the enemy fled before him into Essex. For the fifth time Edmund gathered his men and sought Cnut, but only to meet with a crushing defeat at Assingdun (Assandun). Cnut then pursued Edmund to the Severn, where peace was made and the land divided between the two Kings, to be followed on 30 November by Edmund’s death at the age of twenty-seven. Seven times in as many months did one or other of these two young kings pass through Brentford.

1066. Middlesex appears to have remained untroubled during the reigns of Cnut (A.D. 1016-35); Harold “the Harefoot” (A.D. 1035-40); Harthacnut (A.D. 1040-2); and Edward “the Confessor” (A.D. 1042-66); until William “the Conqueror” wasted Sussex, Kent, Surrey, Middlesex, and Herts.<sup>2</sup> A detachment which William left at Battersea, while he marched through Bucks, seems to have crossed the Thames at Hampton, and passed through Feltham, Bedfont, Stanwell, and Harmondsworth to Hayes, in order to protect him from being taken in rear. Thence it moved through Northolt to Harrow. “Battlebridge,” over the Fleet in Middlesex, may have been the site of an engagement before William, coming from Herts, entered London—for which there is some authority by William of Jumièges.<sup>3</sup>

**East Saxon Kings**<sup>4</sup> whose kingdom extended over what is now Middlesex, Essex, and South-East Herts, was known as the Kingdom of Essex.

*Aescwin.* He is assumed to have been chief of the confederate bands of

<sup>1</sup> William of Malmesbury (A.D. 1095-1143) in his “Hist. Kings of England,” when describing this rout, twice mentions the ford by name—“transito vado quod Brentford, dicitur,” and “præoccupatoque vado quod superius nominavi Brentford.”

<sup>2</sup> Florence, i, 228. The annual value of land in Middlesex, which according to Domesday had stood in T. R. Ed. at £909, fell to £748.

<sup>3</sup> See William’s march. “Hastings to London.” Domesday Tables, Baring.

<sup>4</sup> See “Oldest Eng. Texts,” Sweet: given in Studies on “Anglo. Sax. Instns.” Chadwick, 272. Also Middlesex Charters.



Saxons raiding in East Essex, *circa* A.D. 525, and may have led at the attack and capture of Colonia (Colchester).

*Sledda*. Under this king the land (Herts) lying to the north of the Upper Lea and Colne, after the fall and destruction of Verulamium (St. Albans) was probably added to his dominions, *circa* A.D. 550. He married Ricula, sister to Ethelbert of Kent.

*Saebert*, ob. 616. Son of Sledda and King of Essex and Middlesex, with South-east Herts, after the decline of the power of Wessex in A.D. 584. He was nevertheless sub-king to his uncle Ethelbert, and early in the seventh century together they built at London a church dedicated to St. Paul.

*Saeward and Seazred*, two pagan sons of Saebert, A.D. 616-17, who appear to have jointly reigned. Both perished in a dispute with Cynegils of Wessex, possibly over the boundary dividing the kingdoms, namely, the Chiltern Hills or the River Colne.

*Sigeberht*, son of Saeward, a pagan, surnamed "the little," probably also king of the East Angles in A.D. 635.

*Sigeberht*, "the good," A.D. 650-60, under whom Christianity was restored to the East Saxon kingdom.

*Swithhelm*, ob. A.D. 664.

*Sigehe* and *Sebbe* his cousin, A.D. 664-90, jointly reigned to about A.D. 690, followed by Sebbe and his two sons.<sup>1</sup>

*Sebbe*, A.D. 664-95, *Sigeheard*, and *Suebraed*.

*Suebraed*, A.D. 704, though ruling over the East Saxons, was vassal to Coenred of Mercia, for in this year they jointly signed a charter relating to land at Twickenham, in the Province of the Middle Saxons. (C.D. 52; B. 111.)

*Offa*, A.D. 704-9. East Anglia seems to have been under his rule.

*Swebright*, A.D. 738.

*Selered*, ob. A.D. 746.

*Swithred*, A.D. 746.

*Sigeric*, A.D. 798.

*Sigered*, A.D. 811-28. The last of this line of kings. The East Saxon kingdom had for a long time been subject to Mercian supremacy<sup>2</sup> and

<sup>1</sup> When a pestilence broke out in A.D. 665, Sigehe in fear with all *his part* of the people reverted to paganism. Bede, iii, 30. If, as most likely, it commenced in the town of London, then Middlesex was under the immediate rule of this king.

The father of Sebbe was Hodilredus, living in A.D. 692 but not described as "rex" in a charter of that year (C.D. 35; B. 81) also signed by Sebbe, rex East Saxon: Sigeheard rex: and Suebred rex: The last named in A.D. 676 with the consent of his father, king Sebbe, signed a charter as Sueberd rex Canciae granting land in Thanet. (C.D. 14; B. 42.)

<sup>2</sup> The province of Middlesex of the E. Saxon kingdom had practically, if not actually, been annexed to Mercia early in the eighth century by Ethelbald (A.D. 706-57), for subsequently Mercian kings alone sign Middlesex Charters.

Sigered's name appears on several Mercian Charters, the first in A.D. 811 (B. 335) and the last dated A.D. 823, which he signed as *subregulus* to Coenwulf (C.D. 217; B. 373), but none relate to land in Middlesex.

**Middlesex Charters.**—Upwards of 1,400 early English charters and documents relating to all parts of the country have been brought to light, and their contents printed by both Kemble (*Codex Diplomaticus Aevi Saxonici*. 1840), and with additions by Birch (*Cartularium Saxonici*. 1893).<sup>1</sup> In these collections there are upwards of forty-four documents dating between A.D. 704 and 1066, in which mention is made of Middlesex or its vills, mostly in connection with landed estate granted by Kings with the assent of their Councils to ecclesiastical corporations, and in these documents appear the names of twenty-seven out of fifty-one vills subsequently returned by Domesday, besides those of hamlets and possessions.

Much information relating to early Middlesex is to be obtained from these charters, which show *inter alia*:

- (a) The antiquity of its vills, and the early forms of their names.<sup>2</sup>
- (b) That by A.D. 704 the western territory of the previous Londinium Canton, had already become known as the "Province of the Middle Saxons."
- (c) That Synods of the Church, and Mercian State Councils were held within the province.
- (d) That the Abbots of St. Peter's Monastery, Middlesex, had obtained from the Crown the right or liberty to administer civil and criminal jurisdiction within the estates of the Abbey.

A.D.

674. Council of the Church held September 24th at Heorut-ford (Hertford) which it seems then lay within the district or territory of the Middle Saxons.

B. 30.

695. Erconwald, Bishop of the East Saxon province, signed a deed relating to land near London consisting of one manens (or one hide) given by Wulphere, and of ten manentes given by Queen Quoenguyda. It was also signed by Sebbe, King of the East Saxons: Sigeheard rex: and Suebraed rex  
C.D. 38: B. 87.

<sup>1</sup> Herein referred to as "C.D." and "B."

<sup>2</sup> After the Saxon conquest of Middlesex late in the sixth century, some of its *vici* were given as rewards to leading men, thus constituting the earliest Saxon settlements. The remainder (folkland) were held for the benefit of the State or Community until eventually given to individuals, and such was mostly the subject of these grants or charters.

A.D.

704. Suebraed of Essex grants thirty cassets (or hides) of land at *Tuicanhom in provincia quae nuncupatur Middelseazan*. Bounds are given. Signed by Coenredus, king of the Mercians (as overlord), and Suebraedus, king of the East Saxons. C.D. 52: B. 111.
705. Waldhere, Bishop of London, writes concerning a meeting to be held at Breguntford (Brentford) to settle disputes between the kingdoms of Essex and Wessex. B. 115.
709. Coenred of Mercia grants twenty-two mansas (or hides) of land in Littletona and at Hamtona: signed also by Offa rex of East Anglia (and Essex) as underlord. C.D. 61: B. 125.
716. Ethelbald of Mercia grants land at Actona: Branesforde: Hamtona juxta Wiccium emptorium. C.D. 65: B. 134.  
Ethelbald grants seven manentes of land in *provincia Middelseaxorum* in regione qui dicitur *Geddinges*. (Yedding in Hayes.) C.D. 101: B. 182.
767. Offa of Mercia grants thirty mansas of land by Hergae End (at Harrow) in Middilsaexum. C.D. 116: B. 201.
780. Offa in *loco celebri ad Bregantforde* grants land at Croppanthorn. The charter is also signed by Kynethryth. *Dei gratia regina*: and many other personages. C.D. 139: B. 235.  
Offa at Bregentforda on the same date signs another charter. C.D. 140: B. 236.
781. Offa holds a Synod of the Church at Bregentforda.<sup>1</sup> C.D. 143: B. 241.
790. Offa grants to the Archbishop of Canterbury sixty tributaria of land at Lingahoese et Geddingas (Hayes End and the sowing land), also thirty at Tuicanham (Twickenham). C.D. 159: B. 265.
793. Offa at a Synod held at Celchyth (Chelsea) gave Stanmore<sup>2</sup> to St. Alban's. C.D. 162: B. 267.

<sup>1</sup> On a surrender of the monastery at Bath by the Bishop of Worcester Offa confirms certain lands to the See of Worcester. This charter was signed by the King, the Archbishop, twelve bishops, and six chief men. "Most of the provincial Ecclesiastical Councils were held on the confines of the States, where the subjects of each King could at nightfull retire into their own country. Such places were Brentford and Chelsea. . . . They seem to have exercised a friendly jurisdiction in suits for property between different Churches, or between Kings and Ealdormen of the different nations who had disputed with the Churches or with each other." "Const. Hist.," Stubbs, i, 252. Other synods were doubtless held at these places, of which unfortunately no record has come down to us.

<sup>2</sup> It then included land east of Watling Street, which is now Edgware, for Great Stanmore to-day is less in extent than Little Stanmore. William I wrested Stanmore from the Abbey, but seems to have given only the portion west of Watling Street to Earl Moretaine. Until deprived by William, St. Albans also held the land between Barnet and Londoneston, "*ad locum vocatur vulgariter Londoneston*," i.e., Finchley, Hornsey, Hendon south of the Brent, and a strip running west of the Fleet river. "Gesta Abbat. Monas. St. Alban," Walsingham. See also "History of Herts," Chauncey, and ditto by Clutterbuck.



A.D.

- Offa on another occasion gave Edmonton and Enfelde to St. Alban's. Dugdale Monas. II. 217 Cotton M.S. Nero D., VII, f. 3 b.
811. Coenwulf of Mercia held a council in the royal town of London. C.D. 196: B. 335.
816. Coenwulf held a Synod of Bishops from the Province of Canterbury at Celichyd (Chelsea). C.D. 208: B. 358.
825. Wulfred (Archbishop) as to the settlement of 100 mansas of land lying in four places, at Hearge, Hareghes (Harrow): at Herefrethingland, Herefrod-  
ingland: Wembalea: Geddingegum, Geddinge (Yedding). C.D. 220: B. 384.
831. Wiglaf of Mercia grants to the Archbishop five cassates of land at Bote-  
wælle (Botwell) in provincia Middelsaxanorum. Boundaries S. by Merc-  
wælle: W. by Hygeredingtun, Cullinges treo: N. by Colanhomm (Colham):  
E. by land of the Bishop in Haese (Hayes). C.D. 227: B. 400.
832. Werhard, a priest in a disposition, refers to four poor folk at Hergas, and  
gives 30 hides in Turcham (Twickenham) in provincia Middlesexan.  
C.D. 230: B. 402.
845. Werhard exchanges with Weremberht, a theyn, one cassate of land at Hroces  
Seath, or Seadum (abode of rooks) now Roxeth in Harrow, formerly "in  
illam famosam villam quae nominatur Grenanforda," (Greenford). B. 448.
857. Burhred of Mercia grants land "in vico Londonio." B. 492.
886. Alfred. Treaty between Alfred and Guthrum, king of the Danes. From the  
Thames the river Lea to its source was a section of the boundary between  
their respective kingdoms. B. 856 and 7.
924. Athelstan of England confirms to St. Paul's ten mansas of land at Draitune,  
Draegtun: and ten at Neosdune, Neasdune cum Willesdune. C.D. 1127:  
B. 737.
- 941 and 6. Edmund returns to the Church at Canterbury land at Tuiccanham,  
Tuikenham: and Preostantum, Prestone (in Harrow). C.D. 1138 and 405:  
B. 766 and 811.
948. Eadred grants to the Church at Canterbury the vill of Tuicaham in provincia  
Midelsaxorum. C.D. 1160: B. 861.
951. Theodred, Bishop of London, in his testament refers to his land at Newetune  
(Stoke Newington), and Fullenham (Fulham) etc. C.D. 957: B. 1008.
951. Edgar regrants to St. Peter's land between Tyburn and St. Andrew's church.  
Boundaries given. C.D. 1059: B. 1048.
959. Dunstan, Archbishop, in the recital of his grants to St. Peter's, mentions  
one territory of land in Hendune, and this mortgage. A certain servant of  
the king, dwelling in Middlesex, by name Aelfwine, who, [wishing to go]<sup>1</sup>

<sup>1</sup> Bracketed words said to be in a telligramma of Ethelred.

A.D.

going to the home of the holy apostles Peter and Paul, that is to Rome, by reason of his need sought from me, [St. Dunstan who tending him] 30 lbs. of silver, and took from him VIII mansas of his land in Hanewelle, [upon this condition that if on his return from Rome he should repay the money to the Archbishop, the property should be restored to him. But he having returned home at last in vain sought to discharge the loan, whereupon the holy St. Dunstan suffered him to use the land all his life, and after his death gave] and I gave it to the aforesaid monastery. Mention also made of Sunnabiri, Scepertune, and Padingtune. C.D. 1223: B. 1050. Dunstan. As to a grant of land in Hendon, which "Mediterranei Saxones nominant Hendun." B. 1263.

960. Edgar. Proceedings as to the wrongful seizure of Sunbury. Sunnan burges, burga, bury or biri. B. 1063.

962. Edgar grants ten cassates of land at Sunnanbyrig. B. 1085.

968. Edgar grants privilege of sanctuary on Thorney Isle, Middlesex, *i.e.*, the precincts of St. Peter's Abbey. B. 1228.

969. Edgar. Recitals as to the foundations of St. Peter's Abbey by Sebert at the instance of Ethelbert of Kent his uncle, in place of a destroyed pagan (Romano-British) edifice at Thorney, on the west of the town of London. That it was enriched by grants from Offa and Ceonulphus, both of Mercia, with Stanes, and all that pertained to it at Tudington, Halgeförde, Feltham, and Ecclesföörde (Ashföörde), which places and berewics had been attached to a monastery at Stanes, and this having been plundered (? by the Danes) during a hostile expedition, was abolished, and the brethren dispersed. C.D. 555: B. 1263 and 1228.

971. Edgar. A somewhat similar charter, but considered to be a forgery. C.D. 483: B. 1264.

977. Edgar. As to the land of St. Peter's at Lohtheres leaga on Watling Street, between Edgware, the Brent, and Hendon. The bounds are set forth. B. 1290.<sup>1</sup>

978. Edgar grants five cassates of land at Hamstede. The bounds are set forth. C.D. 1275: B. 1309.

993. Ethelred. In this charter, "Middel Seaxan" is mentioned. C.D. 1288: B. 1097.

996. Aelfric grants to St. Albans, land at Cyngesbyrig (Kingsbury) in Middel-Sexon. C.D. 716.

<sup>1</sup> "I have," writes Kemble, "more than once walked, ridden, or rowed as land and stream required, round the bounds of Anglo-Saxon estates, and have learned with astonishment that the names recorded in my charter were those still used by the woodcutters or the shepherd of the neighbourhood." "*Horæ Ferales*," 108.

A.D.

1062. Edward (Confessor) confirms to Chertsey Abbey *inter alia* Laelham, which Abbot Wulnodus bought from Edward the Elder for xv. silver marks: also the mansa at Exforde. C.D. 812.
1066. Edward confirms to St. Peter 17½ hides in Heandune; 20 in Heamstede; 5 in Greneford; 12 and 1 virgate in Hanewelle; <sup>1</sup> 8 in Scepertune; 8 in Sunnabyri and Stana; and grants liberty to the Abbots to administer civil and criminal jurisdiction with other privileges throughout the possessions of St. Peter's Abbey.<sup>2</sup> C.D. 824 and 5.
1066. Edward gives to St. Peter's land in Cealchylle, also every third tree and pack bundle of panage from the woods near Kyngesbyrig, which anciently were of common property. C.D. 843.
- Edward greets William the Bishop, Harold the Earl, Esgar the Stallerer, and his theynes and friends in Middlesexum, and confirms to St. Peter's the village of Staines; the Staeningehaga land in London, and the berewics<sup>3</sup> which pertained to Staines with Saka and Soca, etc. C.D. 855.
1066. Edward confirms to St. Peter's the land at Scepirton with saca and socne, etc. C.D. 858. Also at Chelsea and Greenford. C.D. 843 and 360.
- Edward confirms to St. Peter's the land at Greneford, given between A.D. 975 and 1016 by Ailric Hafet to Christ and St. Peter for the use of the brethren. C.D. 860.

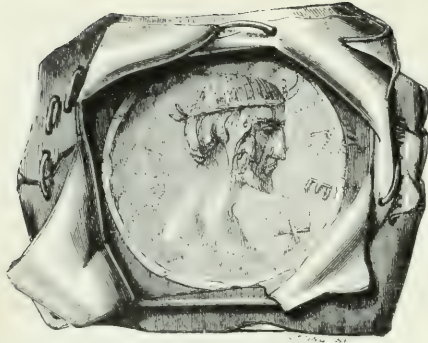
<sup>1</sup> This included Bregantforda (Brentford) a chapelry, and subsequently a manor (Bordestone, Boston) in Hanwell.

<sup>2</sup> As to the courts of Saka and Soca, and rights of Thel and Team, see section on Hundred and Shire Courts, in next chapter.

<sup>3</sup> Submanors in forestal districts: The royal forest or hunting district of Staines included the land between the main road and the Thames as far as Brentford. See *supra*, chap. iii, The Forests of Middlesex.







SEAL OF OFFA, KING OF MERCIA, A.D. 790



WEST SAXON FIBULAE FOUND AT HANWELL



OLD LONDON WALL

## CHAPTER XIII

### THE SAXON PERIOD (PART II)

HUNDRED AND SHIRE COURT—CHRISTIANITY IN MIDDLESEX—EXTENT OF THE  
DIOCESE AND EAST SAXON KINGDOM—ORIGIN OF THE TERM MIDDLESEX—  
NORTHERN BOUNDARY OF THE COUNTY—MOATED SITES

#### The Hundred and Shire Courts of Middlesex, and Places of Meeting.

THE main features of the Hundred Court were briefly as follows. Once a month the Hundreds-ealdor would convene and hold a meeting of the court or mootgemot, over which, twice a year the Sheriff (Scir-reeve or Mootgerefa) or his deputy (Gingra) would preside for view of frankpledge, *i.e.*, to see that the *decaniae* or tythings were full. In early Norman times the assembly was attended, doubtless in pursuance of former Saxon custom, by lords of land or their stewards, also by the priest, reeve and four substantial men from each vill in the Hundred, from whom twelve were appointed to act as judges of facts.<sup>1</sup> The court represented the civil and criminal jurisdiction of the King, tried criminals, settled civil disputes and witnessed transfers of land. The sheriff accounted for the profits and fines from the Hundred, for its organization possessed a fiscal importance as forming a rateable division of the County. The Hundreds-ealdor with his tything men appear to have acted rather as bailiffs of the Court, to enforce its orders, arrest thieves, and to report whether the tythings of ten men were full, for every man had to be in a tything or frankpledge.<sup>2</sup> In some places, side by side with the Hundred Court, were liberties or districts, within which the King by charter had granted, mostly into ecclesiastical hands, the execution and profits of jurisdiction.<sup>3</sup>

<sup>1</sup> "At the Sheriff's tourn every six months, each vill was represented by its reeve and four men, or each tything by its tything men . . . the articles of view were, frankpledge, grave and minor misdeeds, the stopping of water courses and roads, brawls, assize of bread and beer, etc." "Hist. Eng. Law," 546, Pollock and Maitland.

"Let every man seek the Hundredgemot in such a manner as was arranged aforetime." "Edgar," iii, 5. From this it is clear that the Hundred Court was a pre-existing institution in A.D. 959.

<sup>2</sup> "Const. Hist.," Stubbs, i, 116 *et seq.*

<sup>3</sup> *Idem.* p. 119. Practically a Hundred Court in private hands. This must have been the case with the Cashio Hundred now in Herts which belonged to St. Albans. Under its jurisdiction would be the Middlesex vills of Barnet, Finchley, Hornsey, and the strip of land to



In Middlesex this with other privileges had been given by the Confessor to the Abbot of St. Peter's over the possessions of that abbey.<sup>1</sup> They included *inter alia*:

Saka and socn, or the administration of justice in the Hundred court of the King: was, viz., house breaking, forcible entry, trial and sentence on thieves arrested within, or from without the jurisdiction, etc. The appropriation of fines, *e.g.*, for neglect of military service, blood shedding, relieving outlaws, purchase and sale in the same market, adultery, defamation and the hanging of offenders without trial and judgment: Taking of tything fees at the half yearly view of frankpledge, and for the vouching of property (team): Cognisance over the stopping of ways and water courses, and the regulation of the sale of ale and bread: Taking of tolls from markets (tol or theloneum) together with proprietary rights over land, water, woods (*e.g.*, the taxing of horned beasts turned out to graze, like *scriptura* in the Roman age), commons, meadows, fish-ponds, mills, etc.

Two centuries later the Abbot of St. Peter's was summoned to answer the King by what warrant he claimed to hold these pleas of the Crown, and to have free warren, market fair, toll, gallows, chattels of condemned persons and fugitives, prison, fines, redemptions, amerciaments of his men and tenants, return of writs, assize of bread and ale, etc., in Eia, Teddington, Knightsbridge, Greenford, which included Hanwell, Chelsea, Brentford, Paddington, Yeoveney, Laleham, Hampstead, Ashford, Staines, Halliford, Westbourne, Shepperton and in Westminster.<sup>2</sup>

The Abbot replied that Eia, Knightsbridge, Chelsea, Brentford, Paddington, Hampstead and Westbourne are members of the vill of Westminster: that Yeoveney, Laleham, Ashford, Halliford, and Shepperton are members of Staines: that in Westminster and Staines and their members, and also in Teddington and Greenford (which covered Hanwell) he claimed to plead all the pleas that the Sheriff of the King pleaded in the County court, except appeals and outlawries: that King Henry III had confirmed to St. Peter's at Westminster, and to the monks there serving God, all their tenements, and commanded that they should hold them with all liberties and free customs, with saka and socn, tol and team, infan and utfangenthef, etc. Wherefore the Abbot claimed to have pleas of the Crown and gallows, and also view of frankpledge everywhere except in Brentford where he claimed nothing.<sup>3</sup>

London Stone, possessions of that abbey, which were omitted from Domesday as they had been forfeited by King William and were then at his disposition.

<sup>1</sup> See Charters C.D. 824, 5: and B. 855 7, 8.

<sup>2</sup> "Pleas de Quo Warranto," Middx. 22, Ed. I, roll 39.

<sup>3</sup> The ancient and historic Bregantforda was a chapelry in Saxon times and a hamlet within the vill of Hanwell and Hundred of Helethorne. In 22 Ed. I it belonged to St. Helen's priory, Bishopsgate Street. Strange to say since 14 Chas. II, C. 12, this ancient place has been known as *New* Brentford, after becoming a new or separate township maintaining its own poor apart from Hanwell. The adjoining hamlet on the riverside in the manor of Ealing

In Saxon times the Hundred Court held its sittings in the open air, and the place of meeting often gave the name by which the Hundred was known. In Middlesex, the Hundred of Honeslawe (Hounslow) derived its name from a small artificial hill known as "Hones-klaw," or the "hounds' mound," which formerly stood by the side of the Bath road on Smallbury green. It was one of the *botontini* or landmarks of the long forgotten Roman survey of the Middlesex district.<sup>1</sup>

Ossulvestane Hundred took its name from Oswulf's stone, a Roman boundary mark, which stood where Watling and Tamesis Streets cross (Edgware Road and Oxford Street). This ancient stone is shown on Rocques' map as the "place where soldiers were shot," but it disappeared when the Marble Arch was removed to its present site.<sup>2</sup> The Hundreds of Spelethorne and Helethorne derived their names from two venerable and once well-known thorn trees, around which the assemblies were held, viz., Spelethorne, "the tree of speech," appropriately so named when the discussions were thorny: and Helethorne "the sheltering, or wide-spreading thorn." Though their sites are unknown, the former may provisionally be placed by Tamesis Street on Hounslow Heath, which was of considerable extent in bygone times, and the latter possibly grew near the ancient British way leading to Uxbridge.<sup>3</sup>

Within the Hundred of Gara (now Gore) are several place names indicating ancient warfare, while "Gara" itself signifies the "rush of spears." It is likely that its assembly met on Redhill—"Raedhill—the hill of counsel or deliberation"—situated in Kingsbury, and by the side of Watling Street. Delmetone Hundred

within the vill of Fulham and Hundred of Ossulton, which at the time of the Civil War only consisted of a few small houses and a fishery, and without a church, has, *per contra*, since 1662 been distinguished as *Old Brentford*.

<sup>1</sup> These mounds, of which many still exist in the Romanized parts of Britain, were about the size of a haystack. They have received various names in ignorance of their true significance, *e.g.*, "Boadicea's tomb"! by Parliament Hill, Hampstead, and at Stanmore: "Salt Hill," Slough: "Tothill," in Westminster, and at Teddington, hence its early name of Totyngton. "Lawford," near Manningtree, is the "ford by the klaw" or small mound. As regards the Westminster "Tothill," see article by the writer in "The Builder," Dec. 22, 1911.

<sup>2</sup> It is possible that Hyde Park orators occupy to-day almost the same spot as was used in past ages for the assembly of the Hundred.

<sup>3</sup> In Southall there was, up to a few years ago, a field lying to the north of Hayes Bridge on the Uxbridge Road, and known as "Hell-thorn," the hedge of which showed that the hawthorn grew luxuriantly there. This is probably a corruption from "Hele-thorne," a spreading or covering thorn tree. A footway runs by it and continues over the canal and the Yedding brook, doubtless forming part of the British trackway through Hillen-dun. Here possibly we have the place where the old Saxon Hundred Court assembled in the open air, to transact its business under the protecting shade of a venerable thorn tree of great size, and from which the Hele-thorne, now Elthorne, Hundred derived its name. Other Hundreds are named from trees, *e.g.*, Copthorne, Surrey: Edwinstree, Herts: Wixantree, Beds: Appletree and S kyrack (Shireoak), Derbyshire: barrows, dykes and heaths often gave the name. See list in "Const. Hist.," Stubbs, i, 115; "Words and Places," Taylor, 197.

(Edmonton) presents a difficulty, for neither is the origin of its name known, nor the place where its Hundred Court met. It may be derived from a personal name, possibly from that of Adelmund, or Athelmund dux, who in A.D. 792 was a witness to a St. Alban's charter signed by Offa (C.D. 161: B. 264) which King (A.D. 757-96) says Dugdale (Monas. II, 217) gave to that Abbey the vill of Enfield and Edmonton (Adelmetone).<sup>1</sup>

The Shiregemot or moot of a County met every six months for civil and criminal business, and in some respects was an appellate court from that of the Hundred. It was ruled by the Shirereeve, together with the Bishop for spiritual matters, and the Ealdorman who led the fyrd or militia furnished by the Hundreds of the County.<sup>2</sup> The Sheriff was the King's steward, and sat as the judicial president of the County, and with the Ealdorman had a share in the profits from the administration. The meeting like that of the Hundred was attended by the lords of land or their stewards, and by the reeve and four men representing each vill or township to acquit the vill of its suit. "In ecclesiastical matters the shire had the same indefinite status which belonged to the Hundred" and it also attended to the assessments upon the County, the militia contingents, and to the provision of ships.<sup>3</sup> Under a law of Ethelred (A.D. 978-1016) every 300 hides, presumably geld hides, had to provide a ship towards the fleet to protect the coast from the raids of Danish pirates—every ten hides a boat, and every eight hides a helmet and breast plate. Lastly there was the "customary service of one fully armed man for each five hides" (geld). On a geldage of 1,000,<sup>4</sup> Middlesex would have contributed towards  $3\frac{1}{3}$  ships, 100 boats, 125 suits of armour, and 200 armed men.<sup>5</sup>

Tradition has it that the Shiregemot for the County of Middlesex, met at Parliament Hill, Hampstead. Its predecessor, the Roman *curia* or senate, consisting when full probably of 100 *curiales* or decurions undoubtedly assembled in Londinium the mother town of the local Canton.<sup>6</sup> But in Saxon times, London

<sup>1</sup> In A.D. 790. Aethelmund princeps, probably the same individual, witnessed a charter by Offa granting land in Middlesex to the Church at Canterbury, C.D. 159: B. 265. He was evidently a person of position, possibly ealdorman for the province of Middlesex, and residing at Edmonton, formerly Adelmetone. Aethel and Aedel are equivalent in sound. Delmetone (Edmunds' ton) Hundred derived its name from the vill of Adelmetone (Edmonton)—Aethel = Aedel = Edel.

<sup>2</sup> Let the Bishop and Ealdorman of the shire be present and let both of them expound God's law and the world's law. "Laws of Edgar."

<sup>3</sup> "Const. Hist.," Stubbs, i, 131, 118, 128. "Sax. Chron.," A.D. 1008.

<sup>4</sup> Adding to the Domesday total that of the omitted Finchley district, the geldage would have amounted to nearly 1,000.

<sup>5</sup> The obligation of national defence was incumbent as of old on all landowners. "Const. Hist.," i, 284, Stubbs. The five hide unit was undoubtedly an old institution. "Feudal England," 92, Round.

<sup>6</sup> The number of decurions of which a municipal curia consisted was fixed by the constitution of each municipality. It was frequently a hundred: new members could be co-opted



as a Mercian outpost appears to have grown apart from the County. "It seems indeed to have been a sort of merchant commonwealth governed by its own port reeve, and it made its own dooms, which have been preserved to the present day. From the Roman time onward the position of London as a great free commercial town was probably uninterrupted."<sup>1</sup>

**Christianity in Middlesex.**—Next to nothing is known of its progress in the district during that obscure period between the departure of the Romans in A.D. 407, and the Saxon settlement of the Middlesex district towards the end of the following century. Members of the Christian community in London must have heard the words of faith from Germanus and Lupus, two bishops, who in A.D. 429 had come from Gaul to confute the followers of Pelagius (a British monk living at Rome) whose doctrines had been welcomed in this country; and again in A.D. 447 when Germanus revisited Britain. Though in the midst of pagan observances the Christian church apparently held its own within the Middlesex area up to A.D. 586, in which year, Theonus, the last of the line of British bishops of London, was forced to flee into Wales with the remnant of his clergy<sup>2</sup> when the mother town was stormed by pagan forces from Essex and Kent under Sebert and Ethelbert, his uncle and suzerain. After this Christianity in the surrounding district must have been at a low ebb until its revival under Augustine, who with a band of forty missionaries in A.D. 597 landed in Thanet to spread the Gospel in Britain. After an interval of a few months he baptised Ethelbert, and a number of his subjects, and was then permitted by the King to preach and not only to build, but also to *repair* churches in all places.<sup>3</sup> This permission covered the Middlesex district which at that time formed part of the East Saxon kingdom, over which Ethelbert was the supreme lord. But Augustine found it difficult to attract the people from their customary pagan rites, and sought the advice of Pope Gregory, who wisely replied in a letter of 17th June, A.D. 601, brought over by Mellitus, that the heathen temples should not be destroyed but be converted to Christian uses.<sup>4</sup>

Further progress was made after A.D. 604 when Mellitus became Bishop with when its number was not complete. The statute law of the Theodosian code (a compilation of the law from tempo Constantine, A.D. 306-37) respecting *decuriones* applied to municipalities everywhere, and the municipal institution of the *curia* extended throughout the Roman Empire. "Decuriones," Dict. of Antq., 607. Other *decuriones* were, it seems, the village elders over the *decani*, or the tenth or head men, in the village groups of ten men. *Decaniae* were afterwards known as tythings in Saxon times.

<sup>1</sup> "Anglo-Saxon Britain," 159, Grant Allen.

<sup>2</sup> See Geoffrey of Monmouth: Rich. of Wendover: Mathew of Westminster writes: "Theonus, Archbishop of London fled into Wales, seeing all the churches destroyed, taking with him those priests who had survived the massacres."

<sup>3</sup> "Ecc. Hist.," i, 26, Bede.

<sup>4</sup> The letter has been given in the chapter on Roman Times (II), *supra*, p. 76.

the East Saxon kingdom for his diocese. This included the present Middlesex, Essex, and parts of Herts, *territoria* of former Romano-British States, which had been established in earlier days within the tribal area of the Catuvellauni. His diocese was probably much the same as that of Theonus his British predecessor,<sup>1</sup> and since the time of Mellitus it has remained unaltered until 1845, when the growth of the population necessitated a revision. So complete, says Green, seemed the success of the preaching by Mellitus in the conversion of his folk, that Ethelbert, with his nephew Sebert, who had also embraced Christianity, built a church in London as the bishop's stool for the diocese, and dedicated it to St. Paul.<sup>2</sup> This building it is said was destroyed by fire in A.D. 961, and to have been followed by three subsequent edifices. The early policy regarding rural churches in the Middlesex district was a threefold one, viz., to repair those which had become neglected after the flight of Bishop Theonus and his clergy; to utilize the pagan *sacra* of the villages; and to have new churches built by land-owners in their manors where they were required.

Evil times, however, followed upon the death of Sebert in A.D. 616, when his two sons, who were pagans, drove Mellitus from his diocese, and permitted the worship of the old gods, and so for forty years Christianity languished in Middlesex. In A.D. 655 Sigebert of Essex (650-60) surnamed "the good," for he had been converted by his overlord Oswy of Northumberland,<sup>3</sup> established Cedd, a man of English blood, who had been made bishop in A.D. 653, in the vacant see of London, and since then the line of bishops of London has remained unbroken. Ten years later, in A.D. 665, when Sigehere and Sebba were jointly reigning over the East Saxons, a pestilence raged, so much so, that the former apostatized with "that *part* of the people that was under his dominion"—probably Middlesex—and set about restoring the pagan *sacra* which had been deserted. But this action was stopped by his overlord Wulphere of Mercia, who sent Bishop Gearoman to destroy the heathen temples and altars which had been set up, and bring the people back to Christianity.<sup>4</sup> To wean the people from their old religion was no light task, so deeply were its observances rooted into their lives, to which its festivals brought a welcome relief from the daily routine of

<sup>1</sup> In neighbouring Gaul the extent of the early sees was generally that of tribal areas. "Municipalities of the Roman Empire," 143, Reid.

<sup>2</sup> "Ecc. Hist.," ii, 3, Bede.

<sup>3</sup> Sigebert often visited Northumbria and was converted by the personal influence of Oswy who after the battle of Winwaed in A.D. 655 became supreme in England. Sigebert was murdered by two of his kinsmen "because he was too apt to spare his enemies, and easily to forgive the wrongs they had done him, upon their entreaty."—Bede, "Ecc. Hist.," iii, 22.

<sup>4</sup> Bede, "Ecc. Hist.," iii, 30. Evidently Bede's meaning was, that some of the rural *sacra* which on Gregory's advice had been converted to Christian purposes, were, through terror of the pestilence, again used for pagan rites, while those which had not been so converted and had lain deserted, were resorted to for idolatrous worship.

work in those self-contained village settlements. Most of the inhabitants were engaged in the staple industry of agriculture, and they would naturally desire to keep on good terms with the old-time spirits of earth, air and water, who would otherwise bring evil upon their work.<sup>1</sup>

In A.D. 674 a council of the Church was held at Heorutford (Hertford), then on the confines of what was shortly afterwards known as the Province of the Middlesaxons.<sup>2</sup> Other charters show that Church synods attended by the King, with the Bishops, and leading officials, lay and clerical, forming the Council or witan of the Mercian realm, were held in Middlesex between the 8th and 10th centuries at Brentford and Chelsea; *e.g.*:

A.D.

780 under Offa at Bregantforda (Brentford) C.D. 139, 140: B. 235, 236.

781        "        "        "        "        C.D. 143. B. 241.

788    „    „    „    Celcyth (Chelsea)    C.D. 153.

789      „      „      „      „      C.D. 155.

793      "      "      "      "      C.D. 162: B. 267.

<sup>1</sup> Each February the protection of the old Roman god of boundaries and landmarks was sought, when the ploughing of the strips between the balks in the open fields was finished and when May came round it was essential that the Lares or spirits of the open fields and common pastures, should be placated by offerings in the village *compitum* or chapel. Later on the goddess of plenty would be invoked to bless the growing crops and fruits, while attention had to be paid to the sylvan protector of flocks and herds when in their summer pasture in the woodlands, during the annual perambulation of the bounds of the district, as well as to the other lesser spirits who haunted the leafy glades. Particular rites had likewise to be observed at Midsummer, when the yearly cleansing of house and barn took place, and the rubbish was burnt in the purifying (bone) bonfire. Next, the guardians of wells and brooks required consideration when water was needed for the parched soil, and lastly came the joyous feastings in Midwinter to celebrate the birth of a new year that was to bring prosperity to the village.

In addition to these, with other observances from the cult of strange deities brought into Britain from all parts of the Roman Empire, there came the Saxon pantheon, and amongst these gods were Tiwe (*battle*): Woden (*the chief*): Thunar (*rain and storm*): Frea (*fertility*): and Satero (*disposer*): after whom five of our week days have been named. There is ground for supposing that Wam or Wembaleah (Wembley Hill), was one of the high places in Middlesex where the rites of Woden were observed. Guthrum, Edward, and Athelstan endeavoured to check all these heathen practices, and Cnut (A.D. 1016-35) enacted: "We earnestly forbid that men worship idols, that is heathen gods, the sun or moon, fire or rivers, wells or stones, or forest trees, or love witchcraft . . . or perform anything pertaining to such illusions." See "Ancient Laws of Eng.," 162, Thorpe. To eradicate this deep-set paganism, and utilize where possible its practices and sacred places for Christian purposes, was a long and arduous task for the Church to carry out, and it has left as a legacy a mass of superstitions and quaint customs, which now only arouse speculation as to their origin and meaning. The following paragraph is from the "Times," 12 May, 1919: "The old custom of dressing the wells will be continued at Tissington, Derbyshire, this year, after an interval of several years. Ascension Day (May 29) has been chosen for the observance, and the fine natural springs will be decorated with floral designs. There will be a service at the church and the vicar will bless the wells."

<sup>2</sup> A.D. 704. Saxon Charters. C.D. 52; B. 111.



A.D.

|     |   |                             |
|-----|---|-----------------------------|
| 796 | under Ecgfrith at Celeyth (Chelsea)         | C.D. 172, 173: B. 280, 281. |
| 799 | „ Coenwulf „ „                              | C.D. 1023: B. 302.          |
| 816 | „ „ „ { „ of Bishops<br>P. of Canterbury. } | C.D. 208: B. 358.           |
| 996 | „ Ethelred „ „                              | C.D. 896.                   |

Doubtless other assemblies were held the records of which have been lost.

In Middlesex, on the little eyot or island of Thorney (Thornea, overrun with thorn bushes, *in loco terribili*) being a delta of land where the eastern arm of the Tyburne, or double stream, joins the Thames two miles south-west of the city of London, there had formerly stood a Roman temple, said to have been dedicated to Apollo,<sup>1</sup> the god who *inter alia* wards off evil and affords help. It would be used by those who travelled to and fro along Watling Street and the south-eastern ports, to make a votive offering before or after their safe passage across this dangerous ford of the Thames. First, an arm of the Tyburne in the Green Park would have to be waded, and then the other in St. James's Park to reach the island,<sup>2</sup> prior to fording the Thames to the Surrey bank where St. Thomas' Hospital now stands, and thence, before the Romans made a causeway, across two miles of treacherous marshes until the rising ground towards Shooters' Hill was reached.<sup>3</sup> Subsequently the Temple might, or might not be used for Christian worship, but later on upon its site arose—fabulously attributed to Sebert, so that St. Paul's in London should not have an earlier foundation—a Church and Monastery, dedicated to St. Peter, which became the glory of Middlesex, known as the West Monasterium, and now as Westminster Abbey.<sup>4</sup> Charters show that Offa (confirmed by Ethelred), Edgar, Edward the Confessor, and Archbishop Dunstan, endowed the Abbey, and that in A.D. 968 Edgar conferred upon it the privilege of Sanctuary within the island. The Middlesex Guildhall partly stands upon the site of the building which housed those who had obtained the protection of the Abbey.

The returns from Domesday disclose the extent of the landed possessions held by ecclesiastical corporations in Middlesex, which at the close of the Saxon period amounted to nearly one half of the County, while at an earlier period, Stanmore, Enfield and Edmonton had belonged to St. Alban's Abbey.

<sup>1</sup> Charters. C.D. 480. B. 1264.

<sup>2</sup> It has been said by Higden that the ford ended on the Middlesex shore to the west of the abbey island; *i.e.*, by Horseferry Lane.

<sup>3</sup> Here in A.D. 43 floundered men from the army of Aulus Plautius. On the arrival of Claudius the passage was made at the great ford of the Lower Thames at Brentford. See ch. vii, *supra*.

<sup>4</sup> To distinguish it from the monastery to the east of London, at Ham in Essex.

## IN MIDDLESEX.

|  | Stat. Acres.        |
|--|---------------------|
| The Bishop of London and Canons of St. Paul's held | 27,483              |
| The Archbishop of Canterbury . . . . . „           | 25,937              |
| St. Peter's Abbey . . . . . „                      | 14,961              |
| St. Alban's Abbey . . . . . „                      | 12,587 <sup>1</sup> |
| The Abbey of Rouen . . . . . „                     | 4,608               |
| The Abbey of Barking . . . . . „                   | 612                 |
|  | — 86,188            |

In addition, there were seventeen priests, who were probably resident within their *parochia*, since they held 937 acres as glebeland, lying in scattered strips in the open fields of the following villis.

Each one hide, equal to 124·6 statute acres in—✠ Harrow, ✠ Hayes (manors of the see of Canterbury), and Colham with the chapelry at ✠ Uxbridge.

Each three virgates, or three-quarters of a hide in—✠ Isleworth, which then included Heston (h) and ✠ Twickenham (h).

Each two virgates in—Harlington, ✠ Northolt, ✠ Ruislip, ✠ Stanmore parva and Tottenham.

Each one virgate in—✠ Bedfont, ✠ Cranford, ✠ Enfield, ✠ Harefield, ✠ Hendon (manor of St. Peter's) and Kingsbury.

Half a virgate in—Kensington.

Fifteen Saxon acres in—✠ Shepperton (manor of St. Peter's).

A ✠ signifies a vill where the parish or mother Church is situated upon the line of the Roman survey, and therefore probably marks the site of a *compitum*, or village chapel by the wayside, possibly converted to Christian uses, either in Romano-British times, or by Bishops Mellitus or Cedd, and since has so been used down the centuries to the present time. Thirty-three other villis which did not return any glebe at the date of Domesday, that is in A.D. 1086, but possessed a mother church on the site of the former pagan edifice by the ancient survey line, may have been served at that time by an itinerant, or visitant priest sent from St. Peter's, or St. Paul's, or by a resident from a neighbouring vill; such were—

*St. Peter's, manors:* ✠ Cowley, ✠ Greenford, ✠ Hanwell, ✠ Staines and ✠ Sunbury.

*St. Paul's, manors:* ✠ Drayton, ✠ Fulham, with its hamlets of ✠ Acton, ✠ Chiswick, and ✠ Ealing, ✠ Islington, ✠ St. Pancras, and ✠ Willesden.

*Rouen Abbey, manor:* ✠ Harmondsworth.

*Lay persons held the manors of* ✠ Friars' Barnet, ✠ Chelsea, ✠ Finchley, ✠ Hadley, ✠ Hampton, ✠ Hanworth, ✠ Harlington, ✠ Hillingdon,

<sup>1</sup> Estimated, for the lands of this Abbey in Middlesex had been forfeited by the Conqueror, and were omitted from Domesday.

✕ Hornsey, ✕ Ickenham, ✕ Laleham, ✕ Littleton (h), ✕ South Mimms, ✕ Norwood, ✕ Perivale, ✕ Pinner (h), ✕ Potters Bar (h), ✕ Stanmore, Great,<sup>1</sup> ✕ Stepney, ✕ Twickenham.

If the remainder of the Middle-Saxon area, prior to A.D. 886, be included, then sixteen churches, now in Herts, must be added to the above list. (See map.)

In the remaining villas of the County, the earliest Christian edifices were built by the lords of land on a convenient site within their manors or estates, for their own use as well as for that of their villanes, and endowed them with glebe and tithe.<sup>2</sup> "Though many churches arose in this manner . . . the greater number of parish churches had probably a very different origin. In all likelihood every mark had its religious establishment, its *fanum*, or *delubrum*, or *sacellum*, and further, that the priests attached to these heathen churches, had land, and perhaps free-will offerings, too, for their support. A well grounded plan of turning the *religio loci* to account was acted upon by all the missionaries, and that whenever a substantial building was found in existence, it was taken possession of for the behoof of the new religion, the substitution of one creed for the other not only did not require the abolition of the old machinery, but would be much facilitated by restoring it."<sup>3</sup>

This view is upheld by the condition of Middlesex at the close of the Saxon period. There were then forty-seven churches on the sites of Romano-British *fana*, *sacella*, or *compita*; of these thirteen were endowed with glebe, and the presumption is that they were each served by a resident priest. In four other cases of endowment, the sites were given by lords of land for the first Christian edifice, and were not upon the foundations of previous village *compita*.

Prior to the Local Government Act 1888, which caused many alterations in the civil districts of Middlesex, there were twenty parishes which had portions lying detached, and these are given on the Ordnance Index map of the County. The origin of these separated portions was where "a lord had a parcel of land detached from the main of his estate, but not sufficient for a parish of itself, it was natural for him to endow his newly erected church with the tithe of those disjointed lands."<sup>4</sup> The acreage of the principal detached portions was—

<sup>1</sup> The first church of Great Stanmore stood about a quarter-mile south of the present edifice, which adjoins the ruins of the second church.

<sup>2</sup> Lords of land desiring to have the services of the Church regularly performed within their estates, obliged the villani to apportion their tithes for the maintenance of a minister, who would also receive church scot, or first fruits from householders, with other occasional offerings of the people. In consequence the boundaries of a vill and of a parish (*parochia*, or the extent of a cure of souls under one minister) *i.e.*, of the civil and ecclesiastical areas, became generally coterminous.

As to the institution of tithe in England, see "Ancient Laws," Thorpe, under headings of Ethelstan, Edmund, Edgar, Ethelred, and Cnut.

<sup>3</sup> "Saxons in Eng.," Kemble, ii, 424.

<sup>4</sup> "Stephens' Coms.," i, 118.



Chelsea, 141; Hanwell, 74; Hornsey, 65; Clerkenwell, 64; Enfield, 53; Northolt, 49; Stepney, 41; S. Newington, 40; Cowley, 40; Ealing, 39; and Paddington 17 acres.

Lastly, if, as it is more than likely some of the pagan *compita* in Middlesex were utilized for the assembly of Christian worshippers under the care of the Romano-British bishop and his clergy, then, excepting the intervals after the flight of Theonus and of Mellitus from the diocese, there has been probably down to the present time on a few sites a continuous service of the Church since the fourth century, and on a larger number after Cedd became Bishop of the East Saxons in the middle of the seventh century, a subject upon which it is pleasant to contemplate.

**The Extent of the Diocese and the East Saxon Kingdom.**—It has been stated that the limits of early dioceses in parts of the Roman Empire corresponded with those of the Municipal *territoria*,<sup>1</sup> and that the East Saxon Kingdom formed the diocese of London.<sup>2</sup> Granting these two premises to have been the case, then two interesting questions arise. What extent of territory went to form—

(a) The East Saxon Kingdom, which should be coterminous with the diocese of Bishop Mellitus formed in A.D. 604, and

(b) The previous British see which was existing in A.D. 314,<sup>3</sup> and ended in A.D. 586, when Archbishop Theonus and his surviving priests fled into Wales on account of the massacres by the heathen East Saxons. The diocese of London has remained unchanged from its second or Saxon foundation in A.D. 604 to the middle of the nineteenth century.<sup>4</sup> By the map to the printed text of the *Valor Ecclesiasticus*, tempo Henry VIII, the diocese comprised Middlesex, Essex, and the eastern and south-western portions of Herts, which included the land on the east of the river Rib down to Ware, the parishes of Broxbourne, Northaw, and the Hundred of Cashio or St. Alban's. This area therefore probably represented the Kingdom of Essex under Sebert in A.D. 604.

In an earlier age the territory of the Catuvellauni stretched beyond the East Saxon Kingdom into Oxon, Beds, and Hunts, but after the defeat of Caractacus and the break-up of his powerful tribal confederacy, the slopes of the Chiltern hills (500 feet), which range from Luton to the Thames, formed a natural and convenient boundary on the west to the new Cantons of Londinium and

<sup>1</sup> "Municipalities of the Roman Empire," 143, Dr. J. S. Reid.

<sup>2</sup> "Const. Hist.," i, 245, 1891, Dr. Stubbs.

<sup>3</sup> In this year a Bishop of London attended the Church Council at Arles.

<sup>4</sup> "Thirteen Centuries of the See of London," Tarn, S.P.C.K.

Verulamium,<sup>1</sup> which, with that of Colonia, had been established before A.D. 61 by the Romans in the eastern portion of the territory of this tribe. If the British see of Londinium possessed any defined territorial area it probably extended over these three sister Cantons, a diocese larger than that of the subsequent Saxon foundation. The reduction appears to have been in consequence of the battle of Fethanleah in A.D. 584, when the waning power of the West Saxons caused them to withdraw from the western parts of Middlesex and Herts, leaving to the East Saxons the land lying east of the River Colne in Middlesex, and in Herts, that of the subsequent Hundred of Cashio.<sup>2</sup> On the other side of the river the West Saxons retained the adjoining strip in Bucks, in which there are several *ham* settlements, as parcel of the Chiltern district which they had acquired in A.D. 571 after their victory at Bedford. Thus, it seems, was established the western boundary of the Essex Kingdom under Sebert, and in consequence, a few years later, in A.D. 604, also the diocese of London under Bishop Mellitus.<sup>3</sup> It is probable that a subsequent dispute over this line of boundary gave rise to the conflict between Cynegils of Wessex, and Seaward and Seaxred, sons of Sebert, in which, so Bede tells us, the latter were slain in A.D. 617, with all their army. The old trouble may not even have been healed by A.D. 705, when Wadhene, Bishop of London, was arranging a meeting to be held at Brentford to settle disputes between Essex and Wessex.<sup>4</sup>

**Origin of the Name of Middlesex.**—The district lying to the north and west of Londinium was practically a quadrilateral, bounded on the east and south by the Lea and Thames, with their extensive marshes; on the west by the wild district of the Chiltern hills,<sup>5</sup> from whence along its north side a forest stretched across into Essex. It was divided from the territory of the Verulamium Municipium by the upper waters of the Colne and Lea, which adjoined one another near Hatfield, though flowing in opposite directions. Within this isolated

<sup>1</sup> In the Roman period this range of hills must have formed the "arcifinius ager" or boundary fringe of the two cantons. The centuriated district below the hills from the botontinus at Salt Hill, Slough, eastwards to the river Colne and north to Rickmansworth, is shown by its alignment to have run with the land on the Middlesex side of the river in Roman times.

<sup>2</sup> The Cashio Hundred had an irregular boundary. It ran from Ridge by Sandridge to Redbourne, thence to Sarratt and to Rickmansworth, where it joined the Middlesex border.

<sup>3</sup> With the assistance of his overlord and uncle, Ethelbert of Kent, Sebert doubtless hastened the withdrawal of the West Saxons. The former king had a score against them on account of his defeat by them at Wibbasdun in A.D. 568. Ethelbert was, according to Bede, the third king to obtain the "imperium" in England. Bede, "Ecc. Hist.," ii, v.

<sup>4</sup> B. 115.

<sup>5</sup> "Abundabat enim eo tempore per totam Ciltriam nemora spatiosa densa et copiosa in quibus habitabant diversa bestia lupi apri tauri sylvestres et cervi abundantur. Necnon et qui plus nocuerunt praedones latrones vispillones exules et fugitivi," Matthew Paris, "Vita Abbatis Leofstani."

area, which lay somewhat beyond the range of the early East and West Saxon settlers, the Romano-British seem, as already shown, to have maintained their independence beyond the middle of the sixth century. After planting settlements in south-west Middlesex, which have been described above, the progress of the West Saxons was checked at Fethanleah in A.D. 584.<sup>1</sup> This was the opportunity for the East Saxons to invade Middlesex and capture London in A.D. 586, which, according to Bede, had by A.D. 604 become their chief town, "and the mart of many nations resorting to it by sea and land."<sup>2</sup> Thus within the space of a few years the district had been subject to two distinct bodies of Saxons entering from opposite sides. Half a century later Middlesex was destined to be the subject of the control of Saxons hailing from middle England under Wulphere of Mercia, who in A.D. 661 became supreme over the East Saxon Kingdom. Early in the next century the province of Middlesex had become of importance to Mercia, since the commerce of this great middle kingdom passed along Watling Street to the Thames and through London.<sup>3</sup> At this period the portion of the Middlesex district was somewhat unique. Lying within boundaries defined by rivers, and forming an important portion of the Essex Kingdom, it was geographically situated between those of Kent, Wessex and Mercia, and contained a mixed population of both early East and West Saxon settlers, with a large substratum of Romano-British or Wealh. It is not surprising, therefore, to find the district described in a charter of A.D. 704, jointly signed by Coenred of Mercia, with Suebred of Essex, and subsequently in others, as the "province of the Middle Saxons,"<sup>4</sup> or as "Middleland" (*Mediterranei*), in one of Dunstan's charters.<sup>5</sup>

Towards the end of the ninth century the province was constituted a separate government, and placed by King Alfred under his son-in-law Ethelred, an ealdorman of Mercia. On the death of the latter in A.D. 910, Alfred's son Edward (A.D. 900-924) took the County—that is, with London and all that then pertained to it—into his own hands as part of his Kingdom. Though the area of the County is less by two *pagi* than that of the previous quadrilateral or province called "Middelseaxan,"<sup>6</sup> it has retained the ancient name, as the land of the

<sup>1</sup> Their advance eastwards is marked by victories at Salisbury, A.D. 552, Silchester, *circa* A.D. 560, Wibbasdun, A.D. 568, Bedford, and other places in the Chiltern district, in A.D. 571. They were checked, if not routed, by the British in A.D. 584 at Fethanleah, and met with a signal defeat in A.D. 591 at Wanborough.

<sup>2</sup> Bede, "Ecc. Hist.," ii, 3.

<sup>3</sup> By A.D. 715 the province must have been annexed by Mercia, for afterwards its kings alone sign Middlesex charters, and hold councils at Brentford, Chelsea, and in London. Between A.D. 811 and 828 Coelwulph of Mercia with Sigered, the last king of Essex, were jointly signing charters, but the lands thereby granted were outside Middlesex.

<sup>4</sup> "In provincia quae muncupatur Middleseaxan," C.D., 52, B, 111.

<sup>5</sup> B, 1263, *circa* A.D. 960.

<sup>6</sup> The land between the present northern boundary of the County and the upper Colne and Lea passed to what is now Hertfordshire, consequent upon the second treaty between Alfred



Middle Saxons, down to the present time, extending over a period of upwards of twelve centuries.

**The Northern Boundary of Middlesex.**—The Saxon “province of Middlesex,” first so-called in a charter of A.D. 704, like that of the previous Roman *territorium* appears to have extended to the upper waters of the Colne and Lea, and included the area between those two rivers and the present northern boundary of the County of Middlesex. The Roman centuriation of the *territorium*, which was in four alignments, and thrice intersected this northern boundary line, proves that there was no connection between its ancient *pagi* and the later boundary, which on being constituted, brought about changes in the Hundreds of Helethorne, Gara, Adelmetone, and in the detached district of Totteridge, Arkley, Chipping Barnet, and Hadley. The question often raised, and now to be considered is, why was a new boundary made, and an appendix or pocket formed, whereby Totteridge, Arkley, and Barnet were taken from Middlesex to which they naturally pertained, and added to what eventually became the shire of Herts.<sup>1</sup> Under the peace of Wedmore A.D. 878, it is generally considered that the land to the east of Watling Street (Edgware Road) passed to Guthrum, the Danish King, who then withdrew into East Anglia.<sup>2</sup> Under this arrangement, King Alfred lost approximately one third of Middlesex, and three-quarters of what is now Herts, but about A.D. 886 by a further treaty between Alfred and Guthrum,<sup>3</sup> the boundary was changed to one running from the Thames up the course of the Lea to its source, whereby the whole of Middlesex and half of Herts came under the English king, and this was confirmed in A.D. 903 by Edward the Elder and Guthrum II.<sup>4</sup>

The extension of the boundary to the Lea, though it enabled the commerce of middle England to pass on English soil along Watling Street to and from the port at London, left in possession of the Danes the four northern Hundreds of Herts, together with portions of its southern Hundreds of Broadwater, Cashio, Dacorum and Hertford.<sup>5</sup> To replace in some measure the lost area in the four

and Guthrum, which made the Lea up to Luton the boundary between their respective kingdoms, B. 856-857.

<sup>1</sup> Hertfordshire is first mentioned in the A.S. Chron. for A.D. 1011. The suffix “shire” or “scir” from “sciran,” to cut off, shows that Herts is not an ancient area, but was carved out of other districts.

<sup>2</sup> “Conquest of Eng.,” i, 125, 139, 169, Green.

<sup>3</sup> Text of treaty, B. 856-857.

<sup>4</sup> Warfare with the Danes soon broke out afresh, with the result that they were driven out of north-east Herts by A.D. 911, when Edward established a new eastern frontier of his kingdom on the Blackwater in Essex.

<sup>5</sup> The settlement of shires, rendered necessary after the course of time, was effected by a gradual adjustment of older areas, in turn originating from those of the Romano-British States and their *pagi*. It frequently involved a re-grouping of the hundreds, due regard

southern Hundreds, and to increase their administrative efficiency, the land constituting the northern portion of the Province of Middlesex seems to have been distributed amongst these Hundreds, and a new boundary substituted, whereby the area of the present geographical County of Middlesex was established towards the end of the ninth century. Leaving on the west the Colne at Harefield, the new line ran along the ridges of hills, and from Harrow-weald followed the then well-known line of Grimms' dyke as far as Arkley, where it turned to the south, and after taking an irregular course, returned along the fence of the wild beasts' parc at Enfield to the dyke, which it regained about a mile eastwards from where it had left it, thus forming a pocket containing the vills of Totteridge, Arkley, and Chipping Barnet. It would naturally be supposed that this new boundary would throughout have followed the line of the dyke along the ridge from Arkley to Kitts' end, and on through Wrotham Park by Gannic Corner, near which place the dyke has recently been traced,<sup>1</sup> and not have left the high ground to include Totteridge, Arkley, and Chipping Barnet, which geographically belong to Middlesex, as they form watersheds from which the Dollis and Pymmes brooks flow into the County.

Lastly, the new boundary ran northwards along that of the berewic or forestal hamlet of S. Mimms attached to Edmonton, and then after turning to the east, and presently following the line of Roman survey, led down to the Lea. In Saxon times Barnet was known as "Sudhawe," or the Southwood, to distinguish it from Northawe, and in post conquestal times as "La Bernete," a trench or cutting connected with a slope or bank.<sup>2</sup> This evidently had reference to Grimms' dyke, or to the ditch and fence of the wild beasts' parc, which from its South-gate to Bohun-gate, and to Hadley, also bounded Chipping Barnet on the east until the dyke was reached. An ancient parc for wild beasts stood at each end of the dyke in Enfield and Ruislip,<sup>3</sup> and for whatever other purpose it had been originally constructed, the dyke served to force the deer, etc., into the parcs, when the country-side folk assembled to take part in the appointed drives.<sup>4</sup>

In distributing this severed portion of the Middlesex province amongst the four reduced Hundreds of southern Herts, Alfred with his son-in-law Ethelred, being paid to natural and other local circumstances. This again brought about changes within the Hundreds.

<sup>1</sup> By G. E. Cruickshank and described in a paper read before the R. Arch. Inst., June, 1919.

<sup>2</sup> *quondam fossatum apud Barnet*. "Gesta Abb. Mon. St. Alban," i, 474; also "Place Names of Herts," Skeat.

<sup>3</sup> Domesday Survey.

<sup>4</sup> It was the duty of the cottier to defend his lords' land from the king's deerhedge. "Rectitudines S. Personarum." As to services of men at hunts, C.D. 1086 and 1287. It was the custom in some manors to make enclosures in the woods for deerhays. Parts of a wood or forest were paled off, into which wild animals could be driven for slaughter. "Domesday Book," Birch, p. 240. See also ch. iii *supra*, The Forests of Middlesex.

who held the separate government of London and Middlesex, apparently added to the—

|   |   |   |
|---|---|---|
| Dacorum Hundred—Bushy, Aldenham, part of Shenley, and N. Mimms. |   |   |
| ‘Broadwater   | „ | Totteridge.   |
| Hertford  | „ | Cheshunt, district of                                 |
| Cashio  | „ | Barnet, Northaw, and the remaining unallotted villis. |

This accounts for the extraordinary patchwork of detached portions of Hundreds lying between the upper Colne and the northern boundary of the County. The reason why Totteridge and Chipping Barnet were added to the Hundreds of Broadwater and Cashio, appears to have been that their district had always been attached to the adjoining *pagus* to the north (the later Hundred of Edwinstree, now Elstree) with which it *was in alignment*. That it was so laid out is shown by the sites of the churches at Totteridge, Arkley and Hadley, as successors on the sites of Romano-British *compita*, together with the *botontini* at Hadley and Greenhill, and the “White” or “Whet”-stone boundary mark, all of which were upon the lines of the ancient Roman survey.<sup>1</sup> (See map.) A small portion of the district now Hadley, since it lay within the bounds of the *parc*, did not pass into Herts, but was left within the *parc* and in Middlesex.

The loss of the northern portion of the province obliged ealdorman Etheldred to reconstitute the *pagi* or Hundreds in Middlesex, so that, Gara with Delmetone; Helethorne; Spelethorne with Hounslow; and Ossulton, were each brought to bear the equal geld assessment of 220—in all 880, as subsequently disclosed by Domesday—together with other consequential adjustments in the villis and tithings. Gara appears to have been extended on the north-west to include Pinner; Helethorne for what it had lost to Herts on the north was increased on the south, so as to embrace Harmondsworth, Cranford, Norwood, and Hanwell.<sup>2</sup> To Spelethorne with Hounslow, went the detached Shepperton district.<sup>3</sup> After these changes the Hundreds of Middlesex appear to have remained unaltered during the following

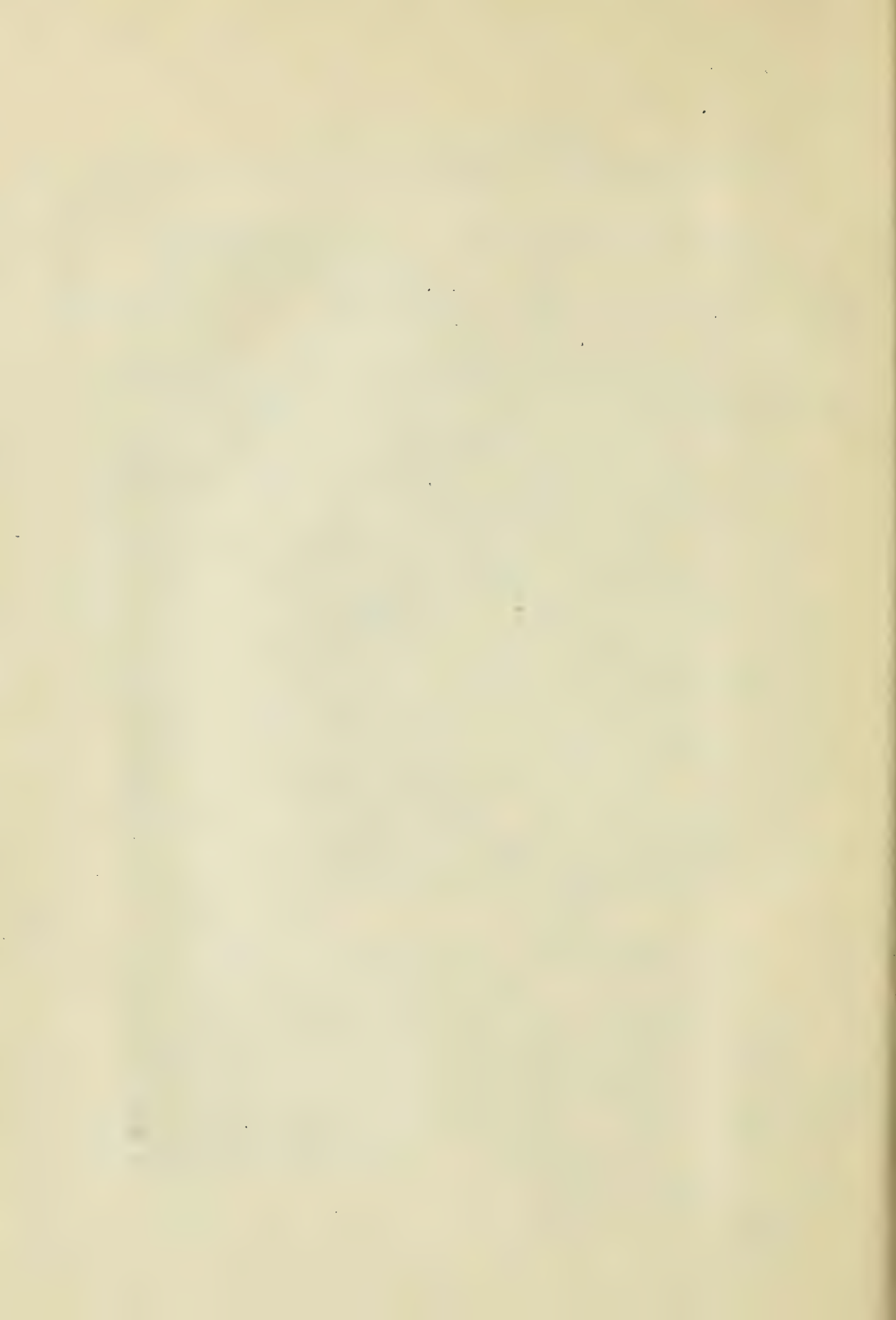
<sup>1</sup> As to particulars of the Survey, see *supra*, chap. ix, and the map, p. 76.

<sup>2</sup> *E.g.*, To take the vill of Hanwell, a long strip of land out of Ossulton, to which it naturally belonged, and add it to Helethorne, lying to the west of the Brent, shows that the adjustment necessitated many local changes.

<sup>3</sup> It is improbable that the Shepperton district had been resurveyed (“Agrimetatio,” Dict. of Antq., 88), but a mistake having been made in the alignment, the survey was not extended, *e.g.*, if the second cardinal line from Shepperton to Feltham Hill (a former *botontinus*, for there is no natural hill in that flat district) be produced northwards it would pass Northolt Church, and form a line out of parallel with the outer cardinal line between the *botontinus* at Syon and at Bushey Park gate, which governed the *limites* westwards to the Colne. This district was within the former Forest of Staines and Hounslow Heath, which latter, *tempore* Henry VIII, according to an Act of Parliament, reached from Brentford to Stanwell, and extended into fourteen parishes and hamlets.







1,000 years, though, as already stated, they became obsolete as administrative divisions of the County towards the end of the last century.<sup>1</sup>

Under the treaty of A.D. 886 the dividing line of the Lea severed any remaining links in the ancient bond between the adjoining districts of Middlesex and Essex.<sup>2</sup> Lying originally within the same tribal area, they had under the Romans become *territoria* of the Londinium Canton, and afterwards, provinces of the East Saxon kingdom during its earlier days. Even as late as 1910 the two Counties bore the same badge, a relic of their former connection, viz.: Three Saxon seaxes or notched knives, upon a red shield, but in that year the County Council of Middlesex obtained a grant of arms, with the addition of a Saxon crown by way of difference.<sup>3</sup>

It may not be out of place to mention that forming portions of the County boundary on the west between Middlesex and Bucks., there is a dyke or ditch which deserves notice, though no information is now obtainable about it. From Harefield to within a mile of Uxbridge, the Colne forms the boundary; from thence to that town about half a mile westwards of the river runs the "shire ditch." From Uxbridge to the G.W.R.'s main line, the Colne again divides the counties. From the railway to the Bath or Western Road the ditch reappears, and it is called the "Bigley ditch." Lastly, on the south or Surrey side of the Thames, just above the Staines Bridge, there is a small piece of land belonging to Middlesex.

**Moated Sites.**—In Middlesex there are still a fair number of moats, the lines of which can yet be traced. Whether they came into existence on account of the Danish troubles during the Saxon period, or at an earlier or later date, and for what particular object has not been satisfactorily determined, and must be left to antiquaries to settle.

<sup>1</sup> It is impossible to say whether the detached Finchley district was added *circa* A.D. 886 to any Hundred. It was lying detached two centuries later at the taking of Domesday from which it was omitted, for the four equal geld assessments of the County would have been upset if this district had been included in a Middlesex Hundred. Prior to its forfeiture by the Conqueror it had been a possession of St. Alban's, probably forming a liberty under the separate jurisdiction of that powerful abbey. Eventually Finchley, Friern Barnet and Hornsey were added to the Ossulton Hundred.

Subsequent to Domesday, Hampton was taken from the Hounslow Hundred and included in that of Spelethorne.

<sup>2</sup> The right of hunting in the forest of Essex, traditionally held to belong to the City of London, and exercised yearly until recent times on the occasion of the common hunt of London in Epping woods, was not mentioned in the Charter of Henry I confirming rights of hunting over Middlesex, the Chilterns, and Surrey. It could not be sustained before the Commissioners in 1875, because the citizens' rights of the chase on the Essex side of the Lea was apparently lost or extinguished when that district passed under the Danelaw, and never legally recovered when England came under one King.

<sup>3</sup> In 1905 a change in this respect was advocated in the writer's paper on "The Antiquities of Middlesex."



They are or were to be seen:—

In Ossulvestane Hundred at:

Acton; Finchley; Finsbury or Newington; Fulham Palace; Hammersmith, "Ravenscourt"; Hornsey;<sup>1</sup> Islington, "Reedmoat";<sup>2</sup> St. Pancras; West Twyford Church was formerly moated.

In Spelethorne at:

Cranford Park; Feltham; Hanworth; Harlington.

In Helethorn at:

Harrow, "Headstone"; on Horsendon Hill; Northolt, by the Church, and at "Downburns"; Ruislip.

In Gore at:

Edgware, below "Moatmount."

In Adelmeton at:

Edmonton; Enfield, "Camlet" and "Old Bury."<sup>3</sup> Tottenham; S. Mimms, "Old Ford Manor Farm," and "Old Ford Farm."

<sup>1</sup> In 1593 a moat was existing in Hornsey Park called Lodge-hill, "the hill being entrenched with two deep ditches, now old and overgrown with bushes. The ruins there are of great antiquity, the oaks at this day with a hundred years' growth standing upon the very foundations of the building which did belong to the Bishop of London." "Spec. Brit.," Norden. The moat measured 70 yards square and was filled by a spring which now finds its outlet down Bishop's Avenue. "Hist. of Highgate," Lloyd.

<sup>2</sup> Reedmoat measured 45 yards square, origin said to be Roman. The skeleton of an elephant was discovered on the site of this camp. "Survey of London," Seymour. Plautius, as already mentioned, had elephants with his army. Another moat was situated near Tollington Lane.

<sup>3</sup> Camlet moat lay in the middle of the Chase, its south side, when measured in 1778, was 50 yards in length. Oldbury, an oblong moat half a mile west of the church enclosed with a high double bank 3½ acres. There was also a small moat a mile from Oldbury on the south-east of the town, and one in Buryfield on the north-east of the parish. "Hist. of Enfield," 1823, Robinson.

## CHAPTER XIV

### THE ACCURACY OF THE DOMESDAY LAND MEASURES IN MIDDLESEX AND THEIR ROMAN ORIGIN

TAKING THE SURVEY—RETURNS FROM THE VILLS—HIDES—CARUCATED LAND—  
THE VILL—CHANGES IN THE VILL—OMISSIONS FROM DOMESDAY—MISCEL-  
LANEOUS RETURNS—TABLES.

#### Taking the Survey.

AFTER the Norman conquest of England so many changes in the ownership of landed estates took place, that fresh returns giving full particulars respecting the manors, vills and towns throughout the country became necessary. "The Saxon Chronicle" for the year 1085 records that King William held a great Council with respect to the realm, and that he afterwards sent Commissioners to ascertain (a) How many hundred hides were in each shire; (b) what estates belonged to the King, and what dues he ought annually to receive; (c) the extent of the estates owned by his Bishops, Abbots, and Earls; and (d) how much each landholder had in land and cattle, and the value of the same. So narrowly was it traced out that "not a single yardland (virgate), ox, cow, or swine that was not set down." Early chroniclers throw further light upon the taking of this survey, viz.: that the evidence was to be taken upon oath as to the number of *acrae vel jugera* per hide of land under one common plough (*uni aratro*) sufficient for the support of the inhabitants in each vill (" *Hida autem Anglice vocatur terra unius aratri cultura sufficiens per annum*"), and how many *jugata* and *virgatae* there were.<sup>1</sup> That afterwards throughout the kingdom six silver shillings were levied on each *aratrum*, that is, a hide of land.

Among numerous works written in the endeavour to elucidate the land measurements recorded in the Domesday survey of the Counties in England, there does not appear to be any attempt to connect the Saxon virgate and aecer (*acra*) with the previous *laterculus* or small *centuria*, and the double *jugerum*. These two land measures were introduced into those parts of Britain which had been surveyed, and first settled by those great agriculturists the Romans, during the earlier portion of the three and a half centuries of their rule in this country.

<sup>1</sup> "Hist. Anglorum," i, 27, Matthew Paris. Cf. the writings of H. Huntingdon; M. Westminster; Thos. Walsingham, etc.

Many of the agrarian roads and land divisions which they had made, were in use when the Domesday survey was taken in A.D. 1086, and even vestiges of them can at the present day be found in various parts of Middlesex.

This survey did not record a partition of the County into new districts by the Conqueror, but it was a return of the value and extent, together with other particulars of manors and vills which had long been established within its area. Proof of the antiquity of the land measures used in the Middlesex Domesday Survey, lies in the identity of the Saxon virgate with its predecessor the Roman *centuria*, containing 50 *jugera*, and equal to 31.155 statute acres; also in that of the Saxon *aeccer* (acre) with two *jugera*. The relationship of these land measures is better shown by the help of the following table:

TABLE I

| Roman Survey, circa A.D. 75.          | Domesday, A.D. 1086.                                     | Ordnance Survey, 1866. |
|---------------------------------------|--|------------------------|
| 2 <i>Jugera</i> : Heredium: or Ager = | 1 <i>Aecer</i> : or little field <sup>1</sup> =          | 1.2462 Statute Acres   |
| 50 „ or 1 <i>Centuria</i> =           | 25 „ or 1 <i>Virgate</i> =                               | 31.155 „ „             |
| 200 „ or 4 „ =                        | 100 „ or 1 <i>Hide</i> : or Caru-<br>cate <sup>2</sup> = | 124.620 „ „            |

If the total number of hides, caruces, virgates, and acres from every Domesday entry for Middlesex, when reduced by the above table into Statute acres, is in agreement with the acreage of the County returned by the Ordnance Surveyors—which will presently be shown to be the case—then such result testifies, not only to the accuracy of the Middlesex Domesday returns, but also to the skill of the professional land measurers (*agrimensores*)<sup>3</sup> who first brought order out of the almost primeval condition of the district. To effect this was not a difficult task for a staff of men trained for the purpose, and quite a small undertaking in comparison with those grand works carried out by Roman architects and engineers, which to this day excite our admiration and compel our study.

**Returns from Vills.**—The name of the overlord or tenant in chief holding a manor, or other landed estate, in the vill was first given.<sup>4</sup> At that date nearly the whole of Middlesex, excepting the portions held by Ecclesiastical Corporations, had been distributed by the King among his Norman followers, the former Saxon owners having been deprived of their estates, or killed during the late war.

<sup>1</sup> “Dimidium agrum quod nostra lingua dicimus healve aker”—Birch, Cart. Sax., No. 460, A.D. 850.

<sup>2</sup> The ancient hide of the Saxons, and the Norman carucate used in the Middlesex Domesday Survey, while expressing the same quantity of land, distinguished the cultivated from the pasture land in a manor or vill.

<sup>3</sup> “Agrimensores,” Dict. of Antq., Smith.

<sup>4</sup> See specimen returns, *infra*.



Next came the number of hides *ad geldum* which the vill, manor, or estate bore for its proportion of the geld assessment placed upon the Hundred within which it lay. This assessment, though to some extent based on the fertility of the soil in a vill, had originally been fixed in amounts of five or its multiples, and the aggregate of geld hides upon the vills in Middlesex came to 880, or about 75 per cent. of their areal hidage. It will be remembered that the *jugatio* or assessment of 880 had been divided into four equal parts, one of which was placed upon each of two of the Hundreds, and the other two upon the remaining four Hundreds grouped in pairs, thus giving an average of 220:

| Hundreds.                       | Areal hides. | Geld hides. |
|---------------------------------|--------------|-------------|
| Ossulvestane . . . . .          | 318          | 220         |
| Helethorne . . . . .            | 277          | 222         |
| Spelethorne and Honeslauv . . . | 276          | 217         |
| Gara and Adelmetone . . . . .   | 312          | 221         |
|                                 | <hr/> 1183   | <hr/> 880   |

The areas of these Domesday Hundreds, with some alteration of boundary, continued in use for County purposes down to the middle of the nineteenth century, though the geldage appears to have only remained in force until A.D. 1334, when, "after a searching inquisition an assessment was made with the utmost accuracy, which remained the basis for centuries."<sup>1</sup>

From analysis of the sixty-four returns from the Hundreds given below in Table III, it will be noticed that in thirty-six instances the geldage ran in 5, 10, or their multiples; while in others, the varying figures indicate that many areas with such assessments were once portions of larger settlements originally assessed on the decimal principle. Thus a Westminster Charter<sup>2</sup> records that in earlier days Sunbury had 10 hides, whereas Domesday gives it only 7. The allocation of four amounts, each of 220 in decimal proportions amongst the vills of four paginal divisions, would be in accordance with the regular methods of the Romans. Such a distribution of value could hardly have been carried out in Middlesex by the rude Saxons, though they were alive to continue this portion of the long established agricultural system under which they enjoyed the fruits of the soil won by the customary labour of the Romano-British whom they had mastered. Hides were also used to indicate (a) The extent of the overlord's demesne, or land in his immediate holding, and when the caruces next to be mentioned are deducted, the remaining hides indicate the amount of the lord's lands under tillage (*in aratro*) which generally lay amongst the villanes' strips in the common farm; and (b) the aggregate of larger holdings by individual villanes

<sup>1</sup> "English Farming Past and Present," 431, Prothero (Lord Ernle).

<sup>2</sup> "Domesday Tables," Baring.

in the village farm, for the smaller holdings were given in virgates and acres, the divisions of the hide.<sup>1</sup>

**Carucated Land.**—The third item in the return related to the carucated land in a vill, which in most instances was the total or gross number of caruces in demesne together with those of the villanes in the common grazing ground or pasturage. In Hanwell, for instance, the formula runs:

The land is *five* carucates: To the demesne pertain four hides and one virgate, and there is *one* caruce there. The villanes have *four* caruces.

In a few vills, *e.g.*, St. Peter's (Westminster) and in Drayton, the total was expressed in caruces, and not in carucates. Taking, however, both classes of such entries from each of the six Hundreds, it is evident that these two terms related to the same land.

TABLE II

| Hundred.               | Caruces. |           | Carucates. |
|------------------------|----------|-----------|------------|
|                        | Demesne. | Villanes. |            |
| Helethorne . . . . .   | 28½      | + 119     | = 147½     |
| Spelethorne . . . . .  | 26½      | + 60      | = 86½      |
| Honeslaw . . . . .     | 19       | + 61      | = 80       |
| Gara . . . . .         | 21       | + 89      | = 110      |
| Adelmetone . . . . .   | 12       | + 50      | = 62       |
| Ossulvestane . . . . . | 30       | + 141     | = 171      |
| <hr/>                  |          |           |            |
|                        | 137      | + 520     | = 657      |

In Middlesex, by these two terms, were distinguished the common pasture appendant both to the village farm and to the cultivated portions of the demesne. In Roman days, as already stated, when a settlement was commenced, a tract

<sup>1</sup> By "village farm" is meant the land in the village which was occupied by an association of partners, who were bound by the same rules of cultivation, held in intermixed strips of arable land, over which at certain seasons the whole body exercised common rights, annually reserved allotted portions of meadow for hay, and enjoyed by virtue of their arable holdings, the right to turn out stock on the common pasture. "Eng. Farming Past and Present," 10, Prothero.

"The tenants of the village farm held and cultivated their land under a system of immemorial antiquity which has now almost entirely disappeared. With every variety of tenure and interest, but for the most part paying money rents for the use of the land, occupiers of common field farms were associated in a common venture for the supply of their own food and drink. In this agrarian association each partner, whether lord of the manor, parson, yeoman, freeholder, copyholder, tenant at will, on lease or life, or the occupier of a cottage to which common field rights were attached, contributed accordingly to his state in the common venture to the work and maintenance of the plough teams, or help with hand and tool in the operations of the farm. . . . The holdings varied widely in extent, but a share of average size would be 18 acres of arable land, 2 acres of meadow land and common rights for as much live stock as the tenant could fodder in winter. The common fields were usually under the three course system of agriculture, and a share of 18 acres would have 6 in each field. The 6 acres, though in the same field, did not lie together. They were scattered in acre or half acre strips all over its extent, so that in each field every partner had his share of good, bad,

(*compascua*) was set apart within the *vicus*. This had to be partially cleared from primeval undergrowth and tangle, in order to obtain pasturage sufficient for the settlers' flocks and herds, and there would be sought fuel, litter, and house timber. In Saxon Middlesex the carucated land covered the pasturage of the villanes, as well as that of the lord of the manor.

There is a constant note in the Domesday County return as to the possibility of increasing the number of caruces. This apparently refers to the shortage of stock below the head which could be properly grazed upon the common waste in the vills, a number readily reckoned, since the customary allowance of beasts for a caruce was well known.<sup>1</sup> This shortage constituted a considerable figure in the annual value of the County, which was about  $17\frac{1}{2}$  per cent. lower than in King Edward's reign, and was probably due to the raids of the Conqueror's troops in 1066. In nearly every return from a vill where the note occurs there is a fall in the annual value. The form this note takes is *e.g.* in Stanmore:

"The land is 7 carucates. To the demesne pertain 4 hides, there is one caruce there, and *two more* could be made. The villanes have three caruces, and there could be *one more*."<sup>2</sup>

and indifferent land. From seed time to harvest the arable land was held in separate occupation. On Lammas day, August 12th, ten days later in the year than now, common rights recommenced." "Common Field Farming," Shakespeare's England, i, 349, Prothero.

When the land was first occupied by the Angles, the Jutes and others, the acre and good strips, existing as such long before their coming, would be distributed according to their way of counting." "Domesday Studies," i, 33, 1891.

<sup>1</sup> The custom in the manor of Hanwell recited in 1678 was, on the common grazing land, two sheep for every acre of arable, and three for every acre of meadow. A cottager not to keep more than ten.

<sup>2</sup> Whatever "caruca" meant etymologically (*carruca* in Latin was a four-wheeled carriage) the Normans used the word to express a given quantity of land known as a "plough of land," which in Middlesex was equal to the ancient "hide" of land used by the Saxons: *Carucatas quas Angli hidas vocant* (Odericas, viii, 8). In the Midlands and parts of England under Danish law, the carucate in Domesday replaces the hide, *e.g.*, *Carucata ad geldum*: "*ad arandum*": *terra ad unam carucam*, of which the meanings are plain. There the caruce varied as to the number of acres it contained, which adds to the difficulties of research (*cf.* "Domesday Studies for D. Commemoration," 1886 and 1891).

These various measurements mostly arise in the later, or post-Roman settled areas, where the attempt to follow the accurate work of the early *agrimensores* only resulted in land measures of differing size.

It might be thought that in Middlesex the carucate and caruce referred to the arable land. If this were so, then the holdings of the villanes separately returned in hides and virgates must relate to the appendant common pasture. But to have totalled the several and separated arable holdings in the village farm under one amount, and to have detailed each villane's right over the common pasture in hides, virgates, and acres, when such ground was not so marked out, would have manifestly been absurd, for all over it, tended by the herd, roamed the villagers' cattle, so many head being allowed by custom according to the number of their owners' half acre holdings lying in strips in the village farm, each of which were marked off by balks and divisions. To specify in a vill how much land the priest, and each husbandman, rich or poor, cultivated, and then to give the gross amount of common appendant



In addition, the County was suffering from the effects of the recent Norman invasion, which is shown by the fall in its annual value from £909 in A.D. 1066 (*temp.* Edw. R.) to £748 in A.D. 1086, when the survey was taken.<sup>1</sup> The present value of these figures would be at least twenty times greater, making £18,180 and £14,960 respectively.

In an indirect way "caruces" also signified the amount of meadow land upon which hay for the winter feed of a given number of oxen could be raised. "Meadow 2 caruces" signified meadow land sufficient for two ploughs, otherwise for a given number of team oxen, and as the standard plough team consisted of eight oxen, the number here would be sixteen oxen. Further, at one acre (Saxon) per ox, this would represent sixteen Saxon acres of meadow land. In Cowley there was meadow for half a caruce, that is, four oxen, and in Bedfont, meadow for one ox. *Pratum 1 bovis*. (See "Meadows," *infra*.)

**The Vill.**—Like the subsequent parish which it frequently constituted, "the vill was a tract of territory defined by well-known marks and bounds, and bore a distinctive name. It contained an organized community and was an administrative and fiscal unit of a Hundred." A vill was generally co-extensive with a manor, the possession of one overlord, though some villas were divided into several possessions. Thus in Ickenham, Earl Roger held 1,115 acres as a manor, de Manneville possessed 295 acres, and Robert Fafiton 124 acres. In Domesday Middlesex there were 75 villas, manors and estates held by twenty-four overlords or tenants in chief, some of them having considerable possessions, *e.g.*: The Abbot of St. Peter's (Westminster) was returned for eleven; Earl Moretaine for six; Earl Roger for eight, etc. (See *diagram* of Saxon Middlesex.)

The extent of land which constituted a vill from an early period had been assigned in a threefold manner, viz.:

(a) The village or common farm, the nucleus of the original settlement,<sup>2</sup> wherein the villanes tilled their holdings, generally lying in half acre strips dispersed amongst those of their fellows, and contained in two or three large open fields, necessary under the ancient two or threefold course of common husbandry. Prior to the Enclosure Acts a number of these ancient fields were existing in most of the Middlesex parishes. They are shown on Roques' two-inch map of 1754, often indicated, as *e.g.*, "Northfield," "Eastfield," "Parishfield." In Table V it will be seen that the total area under tillage by the villanes in the village farms was 348 hides, or 29.4 per cent., being nearly a third of the Domesday County.

enjoyed by all of them in collective occupation for their cattle, was of practical value for fiscal purposes, for it answered the question put, "how much did each man hold in land?" Again, hides related to land "*in aratro*."

<sup>1</sup> Florence says: "William wasted Sussex, Kent, Hants, Surrey, and Middlesex," *e.g.*, in Hayes, where a detachment of his troops stayed, the annual value fell from £40 to £30.

<sup>2</sup> "Eng. Farming Past and Present," Prothero.

But so unprogressive were agricultural methods in Middlesex, that as late as "1726 one-third of its cultivated area was in what we call common fields."<sup>1</sup>

(b) Next in importance came the common pasture of the villanes which absorbed 520 caruces, or 64,800 statute acres of the Middlesex Domesday area (Table V). But so extensive became the lord's encroachments upon the village commons after the passing of the Statutes of Merton, and Westminster II (A.D. 1236 and 1285), which authorized enclosures to be made against the commoners, provided that sufficient pasture with convenient access was left for the cattle of the commoners, that at the close of the eighteenth century only 136.4 caruces or 17,000 acres<sup>2</sup> of common pasture were left in the County.

(c) The demesne lands of the overlords, the original Imperial reserves in Roman times, covered the remaining 315 hides, the cultivated portions of which were chiefly tilled by the customary labour of those villanes who held their strips in the village farms, otherwise than by the free tenure of fixed service.<sup>3</sup>

Since no allowance was made in the Domesday Survey for the superficial area originally allotted for the necessary ways of access in and about the vills, no comparison can be made between the total acreage of the Domesday and Ordnance Surveys, until the virgates, hides, caruces, and acres from every entry have been reduced to statute acres, and then to this sum is added its  $1/25$  part which, as shown in a previous chapter, was the allowance by the Roman land measures for local roads and ways of access. This reduction is effected by the help of Table I above, and, to explain its use, the conversion of the returns from Little Stanmore and Ickenham into statute acres are set out in full on the next page.

The entries from every vill, manor, and possession in the Domesday returns for Middlesex have been similarly worked out, but on account of space only the totals are set out in Table III. In Fulham and Westminster respectively there were 8 and 41 cottagers described as with their gardenus. In Ossulton hundred the King had 30 cottagers at a yearly rental of 14s. 10 $\frac{1}{2}$ d. and in Holborn 2 rendering 20 pence. In all, within the Domesday county, there were 388 landless men, apparently agricultural labourers, and the aggregate acreage covered by their cottages and by those of traders, craftsmen, etc., who, being unconnected with the land, were not enumerated in Domesday, has not been taken into account. Anyway the acreage was not considerable. In both Helethorne and Spelethorne Hundreds there were 129 acres, and in Ossulton 141 acres so described, apparently from never having been parcel of any manor or vill.

<sup>1</sup> "Eng. Farming Past and Present," p. 154. On p. 31 he remarks: "Changes in farming practices are always slow. In the Middle Ages agriculture was a self-supporting industry rather than a profit making business."

<sup>2</sup> *Idem*, p. 191.

<sup>3</sup> In some vills—*e.g.*, Willesden, St. Peter's, and Islington—the lord held no land in demesne. This rather points to the whole of the available settlement area in early days being required for the villanes' farm, and its appendant common grazing grounds.

## STANMERE. (Parva.)

|  |  |                          |              |
|--|--|--------------------------|--------------|
| Earl Moretain holds Stanmere.  |  | Statute Acres.           |              |
| It is assessed for $9\frac{1}{2}$ hides  |  |                          | 1183.890     |
| The land is 7 carucates  |  | 7 = 872.340              |              |
| Demesne  | { The demesne has $6\frac{1}{2}$ hides     | =                        | 810.030      |
|  | { Two caruces are within it                | 2 = 249.240              |              |
|  | { Another could be made                    | 1 = 124.620              |              |
| Common Wood<br>and Pasture   | { The Villanes have $1\frac{1}{2}$ caruces | $1\frac{1}{2}$ = 186.930 | 186.930      |
|  | { Two and a half more could be made        | $2\frac{1}{2}$ = 311.550 | 311.550      |
|  | Total Caruces                              |                          | 7 = 872.340  |
| In the<br>Common Farm<br>of the Vill.  | { A priest has $\frac{1}{2}$ hide          | = 62.310                 |              |
|  | { 4 Villanes have each 1 virgate           | = 124.620                |              |
|  | { 2 " " between them 1 virgate             | = 31.155                 |              |
|  | { 3 Cottagers " " 10 acres                 | = 12.462                 |              |
|  | { 3 " " " 1 acre                           | = 1.246                  | 231.793      |
|  |  |                          | 1540.303     |
| There is pasture for the cattle of the Vill; wood for 800 swine: value of the herbage, 12 <i>d</i> . Value in King Edward's reign £10, and in King William's £3. |  |                          |              |
| <i>Add <math>\frac{1}{2}</math>, the original allowance for ways</i>   |  |                          | 61.612       |
| Total Domesday acreage   |  |                          | 1601.915     |
| Acreage given in Ordnance Survey <sup>a</sup>  |  |                          | 1590.883     |
| <i>Difference in acres between the two Surveys</i>   |  |                          | Acres 11.032 |

<sup>a</sup> Index sheet to Ordnance Survey of Middlesex 6 inches to the mile, printed from an electrotype taken in December, 1881.

## ICKENHAM

|  |                              |                |             |
|--|------------------------------|----------------|-------------|
| I. Earl Roger holds Ickenham Manor.  |                              | Statute Acres. |             |
| It is assessed for $9\frac{1}{2}$ hides.   |                              |                | 1183.890    |
| The land is 6 carucates.   |                              | 6 = 747.720    |             |
| Common Wood<br>and Pasture   | { There are 4 caruces there. | 4 = 498.480    | 498.480     |
|  | { Two more could be made.    | 2 = 249.240    | 249.240     |
|  |                              | Total Caruces. | 6 = 747.720 |
| Common Farm<br>of the Manor.   | { 6 Villanes have 1 hide.    | = 124.620      |             |
|  | { 2 " " 1 $\frac{1}{4}$ "    | = 155.775      |             |
|  | { 2 " " 2 virgates.          | = 62.310       |             |
|  | { 4 Bordars " 20 acres.      | = 24.924       | 367.620     |
| There are 3 Cottagers, Meadow for 32 Oxen: Pasture for the cattle of the vill: Wood for 200 swine: Value in King Edward's reign, £6, in King William's £4. |                              |                |             |
| Carried forward.   |                              |                | 1115.349    |



|   |                 |               |
|---|-----------------|---------------|
|   | Brought forward | 1115.349      |
| II. De Manneville is assessed in Ickenham for $3\frac{1}{2}$ hides.   | 463.170         |               |
|   | <hr/>           |               |
| The land is 2 carucates.  | 249.240         |               |
| 3 Villanes each have $\frac{1}{2}$ virgate.   | 46.730          |               |
|   | <hr/>           | 295.970       |
| There are 5 Bordars: Meadow for 16 oxen: Pasture for the cattle of the vill: Wood for 40 swine: Value K. E. 60 shillings, K. W. 30 shillings. |                 |               |
| III. Robert Fafiton is assessed in Ickenham for 2 hides.  | 249.240         |               |
|   | <hr/>           |               |
| The land is one caruce (but it is not there now).   | 124.620         | 124.620       |
| There is meadow for 8 oxen: Pasture for the cattle of the vill: Wood for 30 swine: value K. E., K. W. 40 shillings.                           |                 | 1535.939      |
| Add $\frac{1}{25}$ the original allowance for ways.   |                 | 61.437        |
|   |                 | <hr/>         |
| Total Domesday acreage  |                 | 1597.376      |
| Acreage given in the Ordnance Survey  |                 | 1457.740      |
| <i>Difference between the two Surveys</i>   | Acres           | <hr/> 139.636 |

Besides villanes, bordars and cottagers, in some vills there were burgesses, foreigners, freemen, knights, sokemen and serfs. Of the overlords and their estates, the names will be found on the *diagram* of Saxon Middlesex.

**Changes in the Vills.**—From the reign of King Alfred down to 1889, a period covering over 1,000 years, the boundaries of the County appear to have remained unaltered.<sup>1</sup> They were defined by the rivers Lea, Thames, and Colne; and partly by a dyke still traceable in places upon the ridges of the hills which divide Middlesex from Herts. On the other hand, since Domesday, changes have occurred in the boundaries of the hundreds, vills, and manors within the County, and there is no instance of a vill quite corresponding in acreage with that of the succeeding parish. Good examples of the least change in extent are afforded by Little Stanmore with eleven acres of difference, and W. Twyford with five, while other parishes fairly approximate. Though most of the Middlesex vills are to a great extent identical with the subsequent parish of the same name, some, either in whole or in part, have become merged and lost in an adjoining parish, or in the formation of parishes bearing post-Domesday names. Thus, the vills of Tyburne and Lilestone must now be sought in the post-Domesday parish of Marylebone, and those of Charlton and Kempton in that of Sunbury. The straggling vill of Hesa (Hayes), probably containing much of the border land between the former Roman *pagi*, has lost over 4,000 acres; and within Domesday Fulham, the later parishes

<sup>1</sup> In 1889 parishes were taken from Middlesex to constitute the portion of the new administrative County of London north of the Thames. The parish of Hadley was then transferred to Herts. Geographically Middlesex remains the same as heretofore with the City of London a distinct area, situated within it.

of Acton, Chiswick, Ealing, and Hammersmith have been formed. It is worthy of notice that the Domesday holdings of Fulham, Willesden, Harlesden, and E. Twyford, belonging to the See of London and to the Canons of St. Paul's, and containing 15,922 acres, were only greater by 180 acres than the subsequent and corresponding parochial areas of Fulham, Hammersmith, Acton, Chiswick, Ealing, and Willesden. (See *diagram* of Saxon Middlesex.) But since the County up to A.D. 1889 was of the same extent as in A.D. 1086, its total acreage, whether derived from early villis or later parishes should also agree, assuming, as was the case, that the Domesday or earlier survey was correctly taken. (See last two columns, Tables IV and V.)

There is, however, one difficulty with the Domesday survey for Middlesex which requires particular consideration, viz., the curious omission of four definite areas, and of two undefined areas, which latter, having subsequently become merged in adjoining parishes, have necessitated a careful computation of their former acreage.

**Omissions from Domesday.**—These comprise:

(a) The villis or parishes of Finchley, Friar's Barnet and Hornsey, which from their geographical position appear to have belonged to St. Alban's Abbey, and to have formed a detached portion of the Cashio or St. Alban's Hundred (now in Herts) prior to the creation of the County of Middlesex about A.D. 886. These three parishes contain 7,776 statute acres, equal to 62 areal hides, upon which an amount of 46 geld hides would have constituted their assessment. But any such addition to one of the four ancient divisions of Middlesex, would have upset the assessment of 220 geld hides placed upon each of them.

(b) A strip of land, also belonging to the Abbey, running south from Finchley to London, now part of St. Pancras parish, and estimated to have contained about 2,025 acres.<sup>1</sup>

(c) Land lying east of Watling Street (Edgware Road), now constituting the parish of Edgware, together with a part of Hendon, in all estimated to have contained 2,836 acres.

(d) The parishes of South Mimms and Hadley with 7,027 acres.

(e) The wild beasts' park at Enfield and Ruislip, which are known to have embraced 8,349 and 295 acres respectively.

The explanation of omissions *a*, *b*, *c*, and *d* appear to be as follows:

In Saxon times among the Herefordshire manors of the wealthy abbey of St. Alban's, and lying contiguous to the Middlesex boundary, were Northaw,

<sup>1</sup> Table IV, cols. 8 and 9, show that the Domesday total plus road area and these omissions is practically identical with the acreage of the Ordnance Survey. If omissions *b* and *c* (*supra*) have been over or under estimated, then to that extent the Domesday total will be varied, but in either event it can only amount to a few hundred acres.

Ridge, Southaw (Barnet) and Elstree. Within Middlesex the abbot owned the stretch of land between Barnet and London, now represented by (*a*) Finchley, Friar's Barnet, Hornsey, together with (*b*) the above-named strip running southwards—also Edmonton, with its berewick or forestal sub-manor of S. Mimms, Enfield, Stanmore, and Kingsbury, which last-named had been purchased by Leofric, the 10th Abbot. Most of the St. Alban's manors had been seized by King William, and, excepting Edmonton, Enfield, Stanmore, and Kingsbury, which before A.D. 1086 he had bestowed upon his Norman knights—were still lying forfeit in the King's hands when the survey was taken, and did not appear among the returns made to him for these two Counties.<sup>1</sup>

The reason given why William had seized these possessions, was on account of the stout opposition to his advance on London, which he had encountered from Fritheric, 13th Abbot of St. Albans, a nephew of King Cnut.

Fritheric died A.D. 1077, in the Isle of Ely, where he had joined Hereward the Wake and other English lords, who were then holding out against the Norman.

"If," said the King, "the lands given to St. Alban's were taken from the soldiers, that is why they (the Saxons) could not resist me. The Danish King can bring war against me, and I cannot defend the realm. Therefore I begin with you, and take for the support of my knights some of your superabundant lands." On this occasion he is said to have seized all the land and its revenues belonging to the Abbey between Barnet and London stone.<sup>2</sup>

The Middlesex lands omitted from Domesday are distinguished by italics both on the diagram of Saxon vills and in Table III. Though their Domesday hidage and geldage cannot now be stated, the ordnance acreage has been given when the omissions are of ancient parishes. In the two instances, *b* and *c*, where the lands have become lost by merger, the areas have been carefully computed and marked in acres:

The Great or Outer Park or Chase at Enfield (*e*) possessed well-defined bounds. It was surveyed during the Commonwealth, also in 1777 when it was disafforested by Act of Parliament. The Chase then covered 8,349 acres. The Ordnance Survey acreage of the park at Ruislip, amounting to 295 acres, has been adopted.

From a study of the returns from the Hundreds given in Table III it is evident, as regards the incident of assessment, number of cultivators or villanes fixed upon the land, except in Ossulton,<sup>3</sup> and the extent of the village farms; that

<sup>1</sup> Barnet was subsequently bestowed on St. Paul's: Finchley and Hornsey on the Bishop of London, "Hist. of London," Daniel. The strip was doubtless apportioned among the adjoining parishes of St. Pancras, Hampstead, and Marylebone. Stanmore was afterwards regained by the Abbey.

<sup>2</sup> "Gesta Abbat Monas. St. Alban," p. 50; also "Hist. Herts," ii, Chauncey.

<sup>3</sup> Before A.D. 1086 the Eastern half of the Ossulton Hundred, in modern times known as Wenlaxbarne, had felt the influence of London, for at that date this Hundred returned 283



these three figures bore a regular relationship to one another, and, as we know, had at an early date been systematically arranged. Again, it seems that originally, after the village farm, with its necessary appendant pasturage, had been selected, that the unallotted remainder of the *vicus* continued in the hands, first of the Imperial officials, and after their departure, in the Senate of the Romano-British state of Londinium, until the Saxon chiefs obtained them as their demesne lands, while they also acquired in villeinage the village farm with its common pasturage.

But the main object of this chapter in the history of ancient Middlesex, is to show that the acreage of the Domesday County when added to that of the omitted districts, together with the allowance for road surface, practically agrees with the figures of the modern Ordnance Survey for the same area, viz.: Domesday, 181,718 statute acres; Ordnance, 181,706.

It is thus made up:

|                         | Domesday.     | Ordnance.                  |
|-------------------------|---------------|----------------------------|
| Helethorne . . . . .    | 36236         | 36225                      |
| Spelethorne } . . . . . | 35708         | 32881                      |
| Hounslow } . . . . .    |               |                            |
| Gore } . . . . .        | 58609         | 60988                      |
| Edmonton } . . . . .    |               |                            |
| Ossulton . . . . .      | 51165         | 51612                      |
| Acres                   | <u>181718</u> | <u>181706</u> <sup>1</sup> |

This result has been obtained simply by giving the known value of a Roman measure of land, viz.: the *centuria* of 50 *jugera* to its Saxon successor the virgate, of which the exact size has hitherto been in dispute. It consequently bears strong testimony to the accurate work of the Imperial Surveyors, to the continuance of the Roman agrarian system with its tripartite division of the soil through the Saxon into the Norman period, and, lastly, to the care with which Middlesex returns were prepared in A.D. 1086 by the King's Commissioners.

**Miscellaneous Returns.**—Having demonstrated both the accuracy and antiquity of the Domesday measures for Middlesex, it will not be out of place to add a brief review of various rents issuing from the estates belonging to the overlords.

**Watermills.**—The thirty-three and a half mills in the County were chiefly situated on the Colne, Lea, and Brent, and the rents due from them varied from

more landholders than Helethorne Hundred. At the date of the Ordnance Survey, its 32 vills, manors, and lesser estates recorded in Domesday, had long been transformed into 68 parishes, while few such changes had taken place within the other Hundreds.

<sup>1</sup> A comparison can be made between the two surveys as the county area has remained unaltered, but not so with its component parts, the manors and vills, in which many changes

16s. 8d. for a mill at Stepney, to 2s. 2d. from one at Hanwell. Except at these mills, corn had to be ground by hand, for windmills were only introduced into Europe in the twelfth century. The "halfmill" referred to was in Colham on the Colne, at Uxbridge, the other part being on the Bucks side of the river, and to-day on this island site there is the mill now known as Mercer's Mill situated half in Middlesex. (See Table VI.)

*Meadows.*—As already explained the amount of meadow land in a vill was indicated by the standard number of eight oxen to a plough team. Thus "*Pratum X carucis*" may be taken to have conventionally signified land producing a crop of hay sufficient for ten plough teams, that is, eighty oxen, being at the rate of one Saxon acre, or 1.24 statute acre per ox.<sup>1</sup> These meadows were generally grassy flats, often marshy, since they mostly bordered on rivers, and afforded better herbage than from the common rough pasture, or from those portions of the village farm from which the crops had been garnered, or which for the year were lying fallow. "Surplus meadow" dues run from 25s., as at Edmonton and Enfield upon and along the marshes of the Lea, to 10s. at Hampton. The level stretches in the Spelethorne and Hounslow Hundreds afforded meadow for 825 oxen, while *per contra* among all the wooded upland slopes in the Hundred of Gore, there was only sufficient for six oxen.

*Panage.*—The original forests of oak, which extended principally over the upland clay of the northern half of Middlesex, were less esteemed for timber than for the acorns and ground feed they afforded for the villagers' swine, and the panage must have been of considerable value where these forests existed. As with the meadows and oxen here one acre (Saxon) of woodland, may be reckoned as furnishing autumn feed for each head of swine. In sixteen instances a customary rent was due for panage in the lord's woods, *e.g.* as at Hayes, 3s. for 400 pigs, and at Edmonton 12s. for a drove five times as large. The Hundreds of Spelethorne and Hounslow returned 630 swine as against 9,620 for Gore and Edmonton, which also marks the difference of soil and its produce between the south-western and northern parts of the county. Again, the forestal stretch through the border vills of Harefield, Ruislip, Harrow, Stanmore, and Enfield, fed 7,500 swine, or more than a third of the number returned for Middlesex, and this was exclusive of the sixty-seven hides of wood in the districts omitted from Domesday.

*Pasture for the Cattle of the Vill* refers apparently to a right of the villanes in some vills to pasturage upon the waste of the demesne, which would mostly

have taken place, as they were practically in private ownership during the earlier portion of the eight and a half centuries that have passed since the Domesday survey.

<sup>1</sup> This is shown to have been the case in Cambs by a comparison of the parallel returns from the Exchequer Domesday and Cambs Inquest. See "The Domesday Inquest," 171, Ballard.

adjoin or be in common with their own. In a few places a rent of such right is mentioned, *e.g.* 20*s.* in Stepney, in Eia, 7*s.*, and in St. Pancras, 20*d.* Pasture would in places be found intermixed with the woodlands, thus at Enfield the "wood (*i.e.*, *panage*) and pasture" were charged at 45*s.* The rents upon the cattle and pigs of the villanes had been fixed by the custom of centuries past, and may be held to be survivals of the *scriptura* and *glandifera* imposed by the Imperial Procurator when the land was the domain of the Roman Emperor.

*The Agricultural Condition of Middlesex* at this period can be approximately gauged with the aid of Tables V and VI. Thus by deducting from the 315 hides in demesne, 137 caruces for woods and pastures, and 21.5 hides for meadow land (Table VI), there were 156 hides of demesne land under tillage. To the villanes pertained 520 caruces in common of wood and pasture, with 348 hides under tillage in the village farm. The 217 hides of omitted districts may be fairly apportioned, on the basis of the returns from Gore and Adelmetone Hundreds, which adjoined those districts, into: woods and pasture, 116 caruces; under tillage, 101; rural ways, 9 hides.

|                     | Hides. | Woods and<br>Pastures. | Meadows. | Tillage. | Ways.  | Total<br>Hides. |
|---------------------|--------|------------------------|----------|----------|--------|-----------------|
| Demesne . . .       | 315    | 137                    | 21.5     | 156      | 12.5 = | 327             |
| Villanes . . .      | 868    | 520                    | —        | 348      | 35 =   | 903             |
|                     | 1183   | 657                    | 21.5     | 504      | 47.5 = | 1230            |
| Omitted Districts . | 217    | 116                    | —        | 101      | 9 =    | 226             |
|                     | 1400*  | 773                    | 21.5     | 605      | 56.5 = | 1456            |

\* Less ways  $\frac{1}{25}$  or 56 hides.

Lastly, since the above 657 caruces of woods and pasture may be separated into: woods 202 (Table VI), the remaining 454 being in rough pasture; and, with the 116 caruces of woods and pasture from the omitted districts apportioned on the Gara and Adelmetone returns, as to woods 67 caruces, and to pasture 49—the following figures will approximately represent the condition of Middlesex in A.D. 1086.

|                                | Hides. |    | Per cent. of<br>Domesday<br>County. |
|--------------------------------|--------|----|-------------------------------------|
| Under Tillage and Meadow . . . | 626.5  | or | 43.                                 |
| Woodlands . . . . .            | 270    | ,, | 18.5                                |
| Common Pasturage . . . . .     | 503    | ,, | 34.5                                |
| Rural Ways . . . . .           | 56.5   | ,, | 4                                   |
|                                | 1456   |    | 100                                 |



Though woodlands and pasturage have here been separated they were in reality often commingled, pasture being found amidst the glades of the woods, so that over one half of the County was then in a nearly natural condition.

*Weirs and Fishponds.*—Of these there were eighteen in the County yielding rents from 5s. 8d. downwards. Fulham and Isleworth each returned one half of a weir, which is identified with the fishery which formerly existed around “Old England” at the mouth of the Brent. In A.D. 1313 the Bishop of London leased his weir at Brayneford for 40s. a year, and about A.D. 1420, the Abbot of Westminster had to repair the Brentford bridge in respect of his fishery. “One thousand” eels were the annual value of three weirs at Stanwell, also of three fishponds at Harefield, while for using a dragnet in the Thames at Hampton 3s. was charged. Some of these fisheries, probably dated back to Roman times, for fresh water fishponds “had from an early period been frequently attached to ordinary farms and proved a source of gain.”<sup>1</sup> Those at Enfield and Harefield may have dated back to Imperial times, as these places contain evidence of cultured Roman life, and both possessed parks for the hunting of wild beasts.

*Vineyards.*—Thirty-eight vineyards are recorded in Domesday, of these, seven were situated in Middlesex, one of which William the Chamberlain rented for 7s. Those at Westminster and Kempton were then “newly planted,” but amongst the others some may have originated in Roman times, when vine growing was permitted by the Emperor Probus in A.D. 279.<sup>2</sup> Bede (A.D. 673-735) refers to the cultivation of the vine in England, and William of Malmesbury, *circa* A.D. 1100, describes the method of growing vines, and as to the flavour of the wine made.

*Wood for hedges* is mentioned in the returns from four villis. This would probably represent osier beds, which would supply withies for making hurdles to protect the crops in the village farm from cattle and deer, etc.

*Number of men.*—Out of 2,166 villagers of different degrees returned for Middlesex, of these 1,778 held land in various amounts, and 388 cottagers, bordars and *servi* who are merely mentioned, but *not* in connection with any holding in land. These latter, or their predecessors, may have lost or parted with their half acre strips in the village farm, and though in a landless or servile condition, may in right of their cottages have possessed a cow farren in the common pasturage of their vill. The above number by no means represented the population of the County. To the total of 2,166 men, more or less, connected with the land and its culture, may be added twenty-four overlords, and some thirty-five mesne tenants, making in all 2,225 persons enumerated in Domesday—though the overlords and most of the chief tenants were presumably non-

<sup>1</sup> “Agricultura,” Dict. of Antq., Smith.

<sup>2</sup> Flavius Vespicius, Historian, *circa* A.D. 300.

residents in the County. On the other hand many of the villanes had sons, and grandsons, assisting in the cultivation of the family strips of land, or in rendering service connected with its tenure. Lastly, no mention is made of wives and daughters, or of craftsmen, traders, mercenary soldiers, inhabitants of monastic institutions, the house servants of the wealthier folk, or of the floating residuum having some connection with the town of London. The annual rent of a few tenements are stated. Outside Bishopsgate, 18s. 6d. was given for ten cottages with nine acres; in Stepney 4s. for a house; at Westminster 40s. for forty-one cottages. Nomansland ("nanesmaneslande") consisting of 12½ (Saxon) acres was returned at 5s. In Stepney two farm houses respectively rendered 8s. and 4s., but these sums must generally be increased by at least twenty times to approximate them to modern value. At Fulham, certain burgesses of London are mentioned as holding land, and at Staines forty-six burgesses. These burgess rights may possibly have sprung from lands formerly held for public purposes by the Curia of the previous Londinium Canton.

The average amount in land held by a Boardar was five acres (Saxon), and similarly that of a Cottager two acres. Borderland appears to have been additional land cleared for cultivation, and lying adjacent, or added to the early or original extent of the village farm.<sup>1</sup> Holdings of one virgate (the former *centuria*), and of half a virgate were by far the most numerous, no less than 445 villanes held each a virgate, and 448 villanes, each half a virgate, lying in half acre strips in the common farms of the County.

The Churches in Middlesex are not mentioned, though seventeen priests were returned in respect of their holdings (glebe) in the village farm, but judging from the number of Mother parish churches, which to-day stand upon the sites of Roman *compita*, about fifty edifices, or local places of resort for worship, must have been existing in the eleventh century. No instruction to enumerate churches had been given, but where there was taxable land in connection with them or the priests, an entry in Domesday was made for that sole purpose.<sup>2</sup>

A reference to the diagram of Saxon Middlesex will show the extent of the possessions held in the County by Ecclesiastical Corporations,<sup>3</sup> and "P" against the church ☒ in a vill, signifies that a priest held glebe there.

<sup>1</sup> Arrived at from an ancient inquisition relating to land in Hanwell given in A.D. 1485 for charitable uses.

<sup>2</sup> "Domesday Studies," ii, 445.

<sup>3</sup> The Canons of St. Paul's alone held sixty-nine hides of land, of which, that which lay in Fulham, Willesden, and Stepney, was earmarked for "their food," but of course it will be remembered how much of it lay in wood and waste.

TABLE III.—HELETHORNE HUNDRED

| Manor or Vill.   | Men (a).<br>Land<br>holders. | Hides<br>under<br>field. | Carucates<br>of<br>Land. | Hides<br>in<br>Demesne. | Carucates<br>of<br>Villages. | Hides in<br>Village<br>Farm. | Domesday<br>Totals in<br>Acres.<br>(b) | Domesday<br>with wayb.<br>Acres. | Ordnance<br>Survey.<br>Acres. | Miscellaneous Returns. |
|------------------|------------------------------|--------------------------|--------------------------|-------------------------|------------------------------|------------------------------|--|----------------------------------|-------------------------------|------------------------|
|                  |                              |                          |                          |                         |                              |                              |  |                                  |                               |                        |
| M. Herefelle P.  | 19                           | 5                        | 5                        | 2                       | 3                            | 2                            | 935                                    | 972                              | 4624                          | 0 8 1200 4             |
| M. Northala P.   | 23                           | 15                       | 10                       | 8                       | 8                            | 7                            | 2866                                   | 2980                             | 2230                          | 200                    |
| M. Rislope P.    | 37                           | 30                       | 20                       | 11                      | 17                           | 10                           | 4802                                   | 4994                             | 6585                          | 1500                   |
| " P. <i>Free</i> | —                            | —                        | —                        | —                       | —                            | —                            | —                                      | (c) 295                          | —                             | —                      |
| In Grenforde     | 2                            | 4                        | 2                        | 1                       | —                            | 1                            | 374                                    | 388                              | 632                           | 40                     |
| M. "             | 17                           | 11                       | 7                        | 5                       | 5                            | 6                            | 2056                                   | 2138                             | 2078                          | 300                    |
| M. Hanewelle     | 11                           | 8                        | 5                        | 4                       | 4                            | 3                            | 1495                                   | 1554                             | 1209                          | 1 8 50                 |
| Hesa P.          | 94                           | 59                       | 40                       | 12                      | 38                           | 27                           | 9658                                   | 10044                            | 5773                          | 1 8 400                |
| M. Herdington P. | 19                           | 10                       | 6                        | 2                       | 4                            | 4                            | 1260                                   | 1311                             | 1465                          | 16                     |
| M. Coleham P.    | 21                           | 12                       | 7                        | 6                       | 3                            | 3                            | 1558                                   | 1620                             | —                             | 2½ 24 400 1            |
| M. Dallega.      | 8                            | 15                       | 2                        | 1                       | 1                            | 1                            | 380                                    | 395                              | —                             | 6 15                   |
| M. Hillendone    | 6                            | 4                        | 2                        | 2                       | 1                            | 2                            | 636                                    | 661                              | 4939                          | 4 1000 1               |
| In Tichenham     | 4                            | 5                        | 3                        | —                       | 3                            | 0                            | 421                                    | 438                              | —                             | 24 70                  |
| M. "             | 14                           | 15                       | 6                        | —                       | 6                            | 3                            | 1115                                   | 1169                             | 1458                          | 32 200 1               |
| M. Draitone      | 17                           | 10                       | 6                        | 5                       | 5                            | 2                            | 1544                                   | 1605                             | 878                           | 8                      |
| M. Cranforde P.  | 11                           | 5                        | 3                        | 1                       | 2                            | 2                            | 657                                    | 684                              | 737                           | —                      |
| In Hemdesworde   | —                            | 1                        | 1                        | —                       | 1                            | —                            | 124                                    | 130                              | 3308                          | 3 160 500 1 1          |
| M. "             | 31                           | 30                       | 20                       | 8                       | 17                           | 9                            | 4307                                   | 4479                             | —                             | —                      |
| M. Covele        | 2                            | 2                        | 1                        | 1                       | —                            | 2                            | 249                                    | 259                              | 312                           | 1 4 40                 |
| In the Hundred   | 1                            | 2                        | 1                        | —                       | 1                            | —                            | 124                                    | 129                              | —                             | 30                     |
| Totals           | 337                          | 222                      | 147                      | 70                      | 119                          | 88                           | 34561                                  | 36236                            | 36225                         | 11½ 302 5945 7 2       |

(a) Exclusive of Overlords and their Mesne tenants.

M : Manor.

In : In the Vill of.

P : A Priest holds land.

S : Swine, or acres of Woodland—see Table VI.

Carucates in Demesne 28.5.

(b) Total of Columns 4, 5, and 6.

W : Water Mill.

F : Fish weirs, Eel-ponds.

V : Vineyard.

(c) Existing Area.

O : Oxen, otherwise acres (Saxon) of Meadowland.

F : Fish weirs, Eel-ponds.

V : Vineyard.

Annual Value of Hundred, A.D. 1086, King William, £140—King Edward, A.D. 1065 £193.



TABLE III *continued.*—SPELETHORNE HUNDRED

| Manor or Vill.    | Land-<br>holders. | Men.<br>Land-<br>less. | Hides<br>under<br>Geld. | Carucates<br>of<br>Land. | Hides<br>in<br>Domesne. | Carucates<br>of<br>Villanes. | Hides in<br>Village<br>Farm. | Domesday<br>total<br>Acres.<br>(a) | Domesday<br>with ways.<br>Acres. | Ordnance<br>Survey.<br>Acres. | Miscellaneous Returns. |    |     |     |     |
|-------------------|-------------------|------------------------|-------------------------|--------------------------|-------------------------|------------------------------|------------------------------|------------------------------------|----------------------------------|-------------------------------|------------------------|----|-----|-----|-----|
|                   |                   |                        |                         |                          |                         |                              |                              |                                    |                                  |                               | B                      | O  | S   | F   | V   |
| In Bedefunt P     | 11                | 2                      | 10                      | 5                        | 2                       | 3                            | 5 2 18                       | 1330                               | 1383                             | 1927                          |                        | 3  |     |     |     |
| M. "              | 12                | —                      | 10                      | 5                        | 1                       | 4                            | 3 2 13                       | 1076                               | 1119                             |                               |                        | 2  |     |     |     |
| Haitone...        | 6                 | —                      | 5                       | 2                        | 1                       | —                            | 1 2 7                        | 318                                | 331                              | —                             |                        | 16 |     |     |     |
| In the Hundred... | 1                 | —                      |                         | 2 0                      | 2 0                     | —                            | 2 0                          | 124                                | 129                              | —                             |                        | 8  |     |     |     |
| M. Stanwelle      | 33                | 10                     | 15                      | 10                       | 3                       | 10                           | 11 1 3                       | 3025                               | 3148                             | 3999                          |                        | 96 | 100 | 3   |     |
| M. Scapertone P   | 21                | 4                      | 20                      | 7                        | 3 2 0                   | 6                            | 4 1 24                       | 1743                               | 1812                             | 1493                          |                        | 56 | 1   |     |     |
| M. Chenetone      | 17                | 2                      |                         | 5                        | 2 0 12½                 | 3                            | 2 3 4                        | 986                                | 1025                             | —                             |                        | 40 |     |     |     |
| M. Smeberie       | 16                | 6                      | 10                      | 6                        | 4                       | 4                            | 2 2 12½                      | 1324                               | 1377                             | 2660                          |                        | 48 |     |     |     |
| In Leleham        | 11                | 3                      |                         | 5                        | —                       | 1 2 0                        | 2 0                          | 249                                | 259                              | 1302                          |                        | 40 |     |     |     |
| M. "              | 6                 | 7                      | 5                       | 4                        | 4                       | 4                            | 1 1 12½                      | 1168                               | 1214                             |                               |                        | 12 |     |     |     |
| M. Cerdentone     | 2                 | 6                      |                         | 4                        | 2 0                     | 3                            | 2 8                          | 1006                               | 1047                             | —                             |                        | 32 |     |     |     |
| M. Haneworde      | 8                 | 2                      | 5                       | 3                        | 1 2 0                   | 2 2 0                        | 2 2 0                        | 810                                | 842                              | 1373                          |                        | 8  |     |     |     |
| M. Felteham       | 19                | 2                      | 12                      | 10                       | 6                       | 8                            | 4 0 12½                      | 2258                               | 2348                             | 1750                          |                        | 80 |     |     |     |
| M. Stanes         | 82                | 12                     | 20                      | 24                       | 11                      | 11                           | 8 0 20                       | 3763                               | 3913                             | 1843                          |                        | 6  | 192 | 30  | 2 1 |
| Exeford...        | —                 | —                      |                         | —                        | —                       | 1                            | —                            | —                                  | 124                              | 129                           | 1402                   |    | 8   |     |     |
| Littleton (1) ... | —                 | —                      | —                       | —                        | —                       | —                            | —                            | —                                  | —                                | 1039                          |                        |    |     |     |     |
| Totals...         | 245               | 56                     | 112                     | 86                       | 2 0                     | 45                           | 0 12½                        | 19304                              | 20076                            | 18828                         |                        | 10 | 641 | 130 | 6 2 |

Carucates in Domesne 26.5. Annual Value temp. King William, £91—King Edward, £116.

(a) Total of Columns 4, 5, and 6.

(b) Not mentioned in Domesday.

TABLE III continued.—HONESLAUV HUNDRED

| Manor or Vill.          | Men.<br>Land-<br>holders.<br>1 | Hides<br>under<br>Geld.<br>2 | Carucates<br>of<br>Land.<br>3 | Hides<br>in<br>Demesne.<br>4 | Carucates<br>of<br>Villanes.<br>5 | Hides in<br>Village<br>Farm.<br>6 | Domesday<br>total<br>Acres.<br>(a) | Domesday<br>with ways.<br>Acres. | Ordnance<br>Survey.<br>Acres. | Miscellaneous Returns.<br>W O S P |
|-------------------------|--------------------------------|------------------------------|-------------------------------|------------------------------|-----------------------------------|-----------------------------------|------------------------------------|----------------------------------|-------------------------------|-----------------------------------|
| Cistelesworthe <i>P</i> | 101                            | 70                           | 55                            | 6 2 0                        | 39                                | 24 2 12½                          | 8739                               | 9087                             | 3196                          | 2 160 500 1½                      |
| Heston (b) ...          | —                              | —                            | —                             | —                            | —                                 | —                                 | —                                  | —                                | 3823                          | —                                 |
| Twickenham (b) ...      | —                              | —                            | —                             | —                            | —                                 | —                                 | —                                  | —                                | 2467                          | —                                 |
| M. Hamtone ...          | 45                             | 35                           | 25                            | 18                           | 22                                | 10 2 0                            | 6293                               | 6545                             | 3351                          | 24 1                              |
| Teddington (b) ...      | —                              | —                            | —                             | —                            | —                                 | —                                 | —                                  | —                                | 1216                          | —                                 |
| Totals ...              | 146                            | 105                          | 80                            | 24 2 0                       | 61                                | 35 0 12½                          | 15032                              | 15632                            | 14053                         | 2 184 500 2½                      |

Carucates in Demesne 9. Annual Value temp. King William, £111—King Edward, £120.

(a) Total of Columns 4, 5, and 6.

(b) Not mentioned in Domesday, as it lay in Isleworth and Hampton.

## GARA HUNDRED

| Manor or Vill.                       | Men.<br>Land-<br>holders.<br>1 | Hides<br>under<br>Geld.<br>2 | Carucates<br>of<br>Land.<br>3 | Hides<br>in<br>Demesne.<br>5 | Carucates<br>of<br>Villanes.<br>5 | Hides in<br>Village<br>Farm.<br>6 | Domesday<br>total<br>Acres.<br>(a) | Domesday<br>with ways.<br>Acres. | Ordnance<br>Survey.<br>Acres. | Miscellaneous Returns.<br>W O S |
|--------------------------------------|--------------------------------|------------------------------|-------------------------------|------------------------------|-----------------------------------|-----------------------------------|------------------------------------|----------------------------------|-------------------------------|---------------------------------|
| In Herges ...                        | 1                              | 2                            | 1                             | —                            | 1                                 | —                                 | 124                                | 129                              | —                             | 2 0 20                          |
| M. " <i>P</i> ...                    | 108                            | 100                          | 70                            | 30                           | 61                                | 30 2 13                           | 15158                              | 15764                            | 13808                         | 2000 200                        |
| In Chingesberie ...                  | 5                              | 10                           | 2                             | 1                            | 1                                 | 1 1 0                             | 405                                | 421                              | —                             | 200                             |
| M. " <i>P</i> ...                    | 17                             | 9                            | 7                             | 2                            | 5                                 | 2 3 12½                           | 1231                               | 1280                             | 1829                          | 1 4 1000                        |
| M. Stanmera ...                      | 12                             | 9 2                          | 7                             | 4                            | 4                                 | 1 1 15                            | 1171                               | 1218                             | 1484                          | 100                             |
| M. Stanmere (parva) <i>P</i>         | 13                             | 9 2                          | 7                             | 6 2 0                        | 4                                 | 1 3 11                            | 1540                               | 1601                             | 1591                          | 800                             |
| M. Handone <i>P</i> ...              | 39                             | 20                           | 16                            | 10                           | 13                                | 6                                 | 3614                               | 3758                             | 3382                          | 2 1000                          |
| Edgeware late<br>St. Alban's (b) ... | —                              | —                            | —                             | —                            | —                                 | —                                 | —                                  | 2836                             | 2090                          | —                               |
| Totals ...                           | 195                            | 151                          | 110                           | 53 2 0                       | 89                                | 44 0 1½                           | 23243                              | 27007                            | 29184                         | 1 6 5120                        |

Carucates in Demesne, 21.

Annual Value temp. King William, £76—King Edward, 101.

(a) Total of Columns 4, 5, and 6.

(b) Omitted from Domesday. Now in Edgware and in Hendon.

TABLE III *continued.*—ADELMEETONE HUNDRED

| Manor or Vill.              | Men.<br>Land-<br>holders.<br>1 | Hides<br>under<br>Geld.<br>2 | Carucates<br>of<br>Land.<br>3 | Hides<br>in<br>Demesne.<br>4 | Carucates<br>of<br>Villanes.<br>5 | Hides in<br>Village<br>Farm.<br>6 | Domesday<br>total<br>Acres.<br>(a) | Domesday<br>with ways.<br>Acres. | Ordnance<br>Survey.<br>Acres. | Miscellaneous Returns. |     |      |     |
|-----------------------------|--------------------------------|------------------------------|-------------------------------|------------------------------|-----------------------------------|-----------------------------------|------------------------------------|----------------------------------|-------------------------------|------------------------|-----|------|-----|
|                             |                                |                              |                               |                              |                                   |                                   |                                    |                                  |                               | W                      | O   | S    | P   |
| M. Adelmetone...            | 79                             | 4                            | 35                            | 26                           | 16                                | 22                                | 12 3 15                            | 6343                             | 7482                          | 1                      | 208 | 2000 |     |
| <i>South Minns</i> (b) ...  | —                              | —                            | —                             | —                            | —                                 | —                                 | —                                  | 6885                             | 7027                          |                        |     |      |     |
| <i>Monken Hadley</i> (b)    |                                |                              |                               |                              |                                   |                                   |                                    |                                  |                               |                        |     |      |     |
| <i>late St. Alban's</i> ... |                                |                              |                               |                              |                                   |                                   |                                    |                                  |                               |                        |     |      |     |
| M. Encelfelde ...           | 95                             | 24                           | 30                            | 24                           | 14                                | 16                                | 19 0 5                             | 6113                             | 12453                         | 1                      | 192 | 2000 | 1   |
| <i>Pave</i> (c)             | 62                             | 4                            | 5                             | 12                           | 7                                 | 12                                | 7 1 10                             | 3283                             | 4642                          |                        |     | 80   | 500 |
| M. Toteham P ...            |                                |                              |                               |                              |                                   |                                   |                                    |                                  |                               |                        |     |      |     |
| Totals ...                  | 236                            | 32                           | 70                            | 62                           | 37                                | 50                                | 39 1 5                             | 15739                            | 31804                         | 2                      | 480 | 4500 | 2   |

Carucates in Demesne 12. Annual value temp. King William £118—King Edward £116.

(a) Total of Columns 4, 5, and 6.

(b) Omitted from Domesday.

(c) Hidage only omitted from Domesday.



TABLE III continued.—OSULVESTANE HUNDRED

| Manor or Vill.          | Men.<br>Land-<br>holders.<br>1 | Hides<br>under<br>Cult.<br>2 | Carcasses<br>of<br>Land.<br>3 | Hides in<br>Demesne.<br>4 | Carcasses<br>in<br>Villages.<br>5 | Hides in<br>Village<br>Farm.<br>6 | Domesday<br>Totals.<br>Acres.<br>(a) | Domesday<br>with way &<br>Acres. | Ordnance<br>Survey.<br>Acres. | Miscellaneous Returns.<br>W. O. S. P. 1 |
|-------------------------|--------------------------------|------------------------------|-------------------------------|---------------------------|-----------------------------------|-----------------------------------|--------------------------------------|----------------------------------|-------------------------------|---|
| Tueverde West ...       | 3                              | 2                            | 1 2 0                         | 1 2 0                     | —                                 | 2 12½                             | 294                                  | 275                              | 280                           | 100                                     |
| La ...                  | 3                              | 2                            | 1 2 0                         | 1 2 0                     | —                                 | 1 6                               | 225                                  | 234                              | 50                            | 50                                      |
| Wellesdone ...          | 25                             | 15                           | 15                            | —                         | 15                                | —                                 | 1869                                 | 1943                             | 4382                          | 500                                     |
| Herulvestane ...        | 22                             | 5                            | 4                             | 2                         | 2                                 | 4 1 0                             | 1028                                 | 1069                             | 100                           | 100                                     |
| La Fuleham ...          | 10                             | 5                            | 3                             | 1                         | 2                                 | 2 8                               | 446                                  | 464                              | 300                           | 300                                     |
| M. ...                  | 22                             | 5                            | 5                             | 3                         | 3                                 | 3 0 22½                           | 1149                                 | 1195                             | 1700                          | 10 150                                  |
| M. ...                  | 105                            | 40                           | 40                            | 13                        | 36                                | 36                                | 10592                                | 11017                            | 3521                          | 32 1000 ½                               |
| Acton, Chiswick ...     | —                              | —                            | —                             | —                         | —                                 | —                                 | —                                    | —                                | 6136                          | 100                                     |
| Edling, Ham'smith ...   | —                              | —                            | —                             | —                         | —                                 | —                                 | —                                    | —                                | 2248                          | —                                       |
| M. Hamstede ...         | 6                              | 5                            | 3                             | 3 2 0                     | 2                                 | 2 0                               | 810                                  | 842                              | —                             | 64                                      |
| Ela ...                 | 23                             | 10                           | 8                             | 5                         | 6                                 | 3 2 0                             | 1807                                 | 1879                             | —                             | 16 200 1                                |
| M. Chenesitum P ...     | 19                             | 10                           | 10                            | 4                         | 6                                 | 3 3 14                            | 1731                                 | 1800                             | 2196                          | 8 100                                   |
| M. Lilestone ...        | 7                              | 5                            | 3                             | 4 2 0                     | 1                                 | 2 2                               | 750                                  | 780                              | —                             | 50                                      |
| M. Tilburne ...         | 5                              | 5                            | 3                             | 2                         | 2                                 | 2 27                              | 588                                  | 612                              | 1505                          | 8 60                                    |
| Marylebone ...          | —                              | —                            | —                             | —                         | —                                 | —                                 | —                                    | —                                | 796                           | 88 200 1                                |
| M. Chelched ...         | 9                              | 2                            | 5                             | 2                         | 3                                 | 1 0 15                            | 706                                  | 796                              | 2618                          | —                                       |
| M. & In S. Peters ...   | 20                             | 16 2 0                       | 13                            | 11 1 2                    | 7                                 | 4 1 17½                           | 2828                                 | 2941                             | 1255                          | —                                       |
| Paddington ...          | —                              | —                            | —                             | —                         | —                                 | —                                 | —                                    | —                                | 2672                          | 150                                     |
| M. & In S. Pancratius † | 19                             | 12                           | 8 2 0                         | 1 2 0                     | 7                                 | —                                 | 1059                                 | 1101                             | —                             | —                                       |
| Finchley to London      | —                              | —                            | —                             | —                         | —                                 | —                                 | —                                    | 2925                             | —                             | —                                       |
| late St. Albans (a) (b) | —                              | —                            | —                             | —                         | —                                 | —                                 | —                                    | 2693                             | 3169                          | 210                                     |
| M. & In Iseldone * ...  | 130                            | 19                           | 6                             | 1                         | 18 2 0                            | 1 1 4                             | 2500                                 | —                                | 830                           | 7 272 760                               |
| M. & In Stibenhede ‡    | 188                            | 59 3 0                       | 42                            | 27 2 0                    | 31                                | 31 0 20                           | 11179                                | 11626                            | 10648                         | 8                                       |
| Hackney, Poplar, etc.   | —                              | —                            | —                             | —                         | —                                 | —                                 | —                                    | —                                | —                             | —                                       |
| In the Hundred ...      | 4                              | 1 2 0                        | —                             | 1 0 0                     | —                                 | 14                                | 142                                  | 147                              | —                             | —                                       |
| Finchley, F. Barnet     | —                              | —                            | —                             | —                         | —                                 | —                                 | —                                    | 7726                             | —                             | —                                       |
| and Hornsey, late St.   | —                              | —                            | —                             | —                         | —                                 | —                                 | —                                    | —                                | —                             | —                                       |
| Alban's (a) (b) ...     | —                              | —                            | —                             | —                         | —                                 | —                                 | —                                    | —                                | —                             | —                                       |
| Totals ...              | 620                            | 219 3 0                      | 171 2 0                       | 85 1 2                    | 141 2 0                           | 92 1 12½                          | 39823                                | 51165                            | 51612                         | 7 537 4030 ½ 3                          |

County of the City of London omitted from Domesday and not within Middlesex. It contained 754 acres.

Carcasses in Demesne 30. Annual Value temp. King William, £212—King Edward, £263.

† To S. Pancras with 2 entries are added Rugemere and Totenhall.

‡ To Islington with 7 entries are added Bishopsgate, Haggerston, Hoxton, Newington, Nonansland, Stanestaple, and Tollington.

(a) Omitted from Domesday, approximate acreage in italics.

(b) Subsequently included in the Ossulston Hundred.

(c) Total of Columns 5, 5a, and 6.

TABLE IV.—TOTALS OF MIDDLESEX HUNDREDS. (FROM TABLE III.)

| Hundreds.      | Men.<br>Land-<br>holders.<br>1 | Hides<br>under<br>Geld.<br>2 | Carucates<br>of<br>Land.<br>3 | Carucates<br>of<br>Demesne.<br>3a | Hides<br>in<br>Demesne.<br>4 | Carucates<br>of<br>Villanes.<br>5 | Hides in<br>Village<br>Farm.<br>6 | Domesday<br>total<br>Acres.<br>(a) | Domesday<br>with ways,<br>etc.<br>(b) | Ordnance<br>Survey.<br>Acres. |
|----------------|--------------------------------|------------------------------|-------------------------------|-----------------------------------|------------------------------|-----------------------------------|-----------------------------------|------------------------------------|---------------------------------------|-------------------------------|
| Helethorne ..  | 337                            | 222                          | 147                           | 28                                | 70                           | 119                               | 88                                | 34561                              | 36236                                 | 36225                         |
| Spelethorne .. | 245                            | 112                          | 86                            | 26                                | 45                           | 60                                | 49                                | 19304                              | 20076                                 | 18828 (c)                     |
| Honeslauv...   | 145                            | 105                          | 80                            | 19                                | 24                           | 61                                | 35                                | 15032                              | 15632                                 | 14053 (c)                     |
| Gara ... ..    | 195                            | 151                          | 110                           | 21                                | 53                           | 89                                | 44                                | 23243                              | 27007                                 | 29184                         |
| Adelmetone ..  | 236                            | 70                           | 60                            | 12                                | 37                           | 50                                | 39                                | 15739                              | 31602                                 | 31804                         |
| Osulvestane .. | 620                            | 219                          | 171                           | 30                                | 85                           | 141                               | 92                                | 39823                              | 51165                                 | 51612                         |
| Total ... ..   | 1778                           | 880                          | 655                           | 137                               | 315                          | 520                               | 348                               | 147702                             | 181718                                | 181706                        |

(a) Total of Columns 4, 5, and 6. (b) Including the Wild Beasts' Parks and the omitted places.  
(c) In the nineteenth century Spelethorne contained 23396 acres and Hounslow 9485 acres: but their acreage together remained the same.  
Annual value of the County temp. King William, £748—King Edward, £909, being a loss of £161.

TABLE V.—TOTALS IN HIDES OF THE FOUR ANCIENT DIVISIONS OF MIDDLESEX  
ROUND NUMBERS

| Divisions.      | Men.<br>Land-<br>holders.<br>1 | Geldage.<br>2 | Woods<br>and<br>Pastures.<br>3 | Woods and<br>Pasture<br>Demesne.<br>3a | Hides<br>in<br>Demesne.<br>4 | Woods and<br>Pasture<br>Villanes.<br>5 | Common<br>Farm.<br>6 | Domesday<br>total.<br>(a) | Domesday<br>with ways,<br>etc.<br>(b) | Ordnance<br>Survey. |
|-----------------|--------------------------------|---------------|--------------------------------|--|------------------------------|--|----------------------|---------------------------|---------------------------------------|---------------------|
| Helethorne ...  | 337                            | 222           | 147                            | 28                                     | 70                           | 119                                    | 88                   | 277                       | 290                                   | 290                 |
| Spelethorne ... | 390                            | 217           | 166                            | 45                                     | 70                           | 121                                    | 85                   | 276                       | 286                                   | 263                 |
| Hounslauv ...   | 431                            | 221           | 170                            | 33                                     | 90                           | 139                                    | 83                   | 312                       | 470                                   | 489                 |
| Gara ... ..     | 620                            | 220           | 171                            | 30                                     | 85                           | 141                                    | 92                   | 318                       | 410                                   | 414                 |
| Adelmetone ...  |                                |               |                                |  |                              |  |                      |                           |                                       |                     |
| Osulvestane ... |                                |               |                                |  |                              |  |                      |                           |                                       |                     |
| Total ... ..    | 1778                           | 880           | 655                            | 137                                    | 315                          | 520                                    | 348                  | 1183                      | 1456                                  | 1456 (c)            |

(a) Total of Columns 4, 5, and 6.

(b) Including the Wild Beasts' Parks and the omitted places.

(c) The hidage of the two surveys is identical.

TABLE VI.—MISCELLANEOUS RETURNS FROM HUNDREDS  
(THE OMITTED DISTRICTS NOT INCLUDED)

|                    | Water Mills. | Oxen, or<br>Meadow-<br>land. | Swine<br>or<br>Woodland. | Fisheries. | Vineyards. |
|--------------------|--------------|------------------------------|--------------------------|------------|------------|
| Helethorne ... ..  | 11½          | 302                          | 5945                     | 7          | 2          |
| Spelethorne ... .. | 12           | 825                          | 630                      | 8½         | 2          |
| Honeslauv ... ..   |              |                              |                          |            |            |
| Gara ... ..        | 3            | 486                          | 9620                     | 2          | —          |
| Adelmetone ... ..  |              |                              |                          |            |            |
| Osulvestane ... .. | 7            | 537                          | 4030                     | ½          | 3          |
| Total ... ..       | 33½          | 2150 (a)                     | 20225 (b)                | 18         | 7          |

(a) Treated as conventionally representing 2150 acres (Saxon)=21.5 hides of meadow land capable of producing hay per acre sufficient for the winter keep of one ox.

(b) Here being treated as in (a) the figures represent 202.25 acres (Saxon)=202.25 caruces of wood, each acre producing panage for one head of swine.



TABLE VII.—EQUIVALENT LAND MEASURES

| Roman Jugera.                    |            | Saxon acres. |            | Statute acres. |
|----------------------------------|------------|--------------|------------|----------------|
| 1                                |            | .50          |            | .6231          |
| 2                                |            | 1            |            | 1.246          |
| 3                                |            | 1.50         |            | 1.869          |
| 4                                |            | 2            |            | 2.492          |
| 5                                |            | 2.50         |            | 3.115          |
| 7                                |            | 3.50         |            | 4.361          |
| 9                                |            | 4.50         |            | 5.607          |
| 10                               |            | 5            |            | 6.231          |
| 12                               |            | 6            |            | 7.477          |
| 20                               |            | 10           |            | 12.462         |
| 25                               |            | 12.50        |            | 15.577         |
| 50                               | 1 Centuria | 25           | 1 Virgate  | 31.155         |
| 100                              | 2 „        | 50           | 2 „        | 62.310         |
| 150                              | 3 „        | 75           | 3 „        | 93.465         |
| 200                              | 4 „        | 100          | 4 „ 1 Hide | 124.62         |
| 500                              |            |              | 2.50       | 311.55         |
| 700                              |            |              | 3.50       | 436.17         |
| 1000 a Roman estate <sup>1</sup> |            |              | 5          | 623.10         |
| 1250 a Saltus                    |            |              | 6.25       | 778.87         |
| 1300 a Possessa                  |            |              | 6.50       | 810.03         |

<sup>1</sup> A continuity may have existed from Roman agrarian law (*Lex Ag. Sempronia*) limiting to 1,000 jugera an estate in public land—to Saxon law, whereby a ceorl if he so prospered that he possessed a church, a bell-house, a house with a gateway and five hides of land became thaneworthy (“*Ant. Laws of Eng.*,” Thorpe, 180, and see p. 93, note 4, *supra*). From the above table it will be noted that 1,000 jugera = 20 centuriæ or virgates, and 20 virgates = 5 hides. In Middlesex, in A.D. 1086, four Saxon mesne tenants held 5 hides of land in demesne, and sixteen tenants with a higher number.



## DIAGRAM

SHOWING THE APPROXIMATE POSITIONS AND  
AREAS OF THE

## DOMESDAY VILLS & MANORS

With other Particulars in  
(Middlesex)

## MIDDLESEX

AD 1086.

By MONTAGU SHARPE.

- G. Gold mines
- D. Domesday Acreeage
- O. Ordnance Survey Acreeage
- Camps-British, Romans
- Monks Site
- Churches on Sites of Romano-British Churches
- Do not and not being the Mother Church of the Val. P. Private, G. Roman Will
- Roman Survey Mark
- Boundaries of Hundreds AD 1086







## ANTIQUITIES OF MIDDLESEX.

- |  |                                    |  |   |
|--|------------------------------------|--|---|
|  | Roman parish districts             |  | Roman main roads                                |
|  | Roman survey marks, mounds, stones |  | British Roman & Saxon remains found in locality |
|  | British and Roman camps            |  | Moated sites - Domedey, Vinny, etc.             |
|  | British trackways                  |  | Boundary of Saxon Hundreds                      |

Antiqu. Sharpe 1919.



# ANTIQUITIES OF MIDDLESEX.

- Roman paragon districts
- ▲ Roman survey marks, Mounds & Bases
- British and Roman camps
- British trackways
- Roman main roads
- ▼ British Roman remains found in locality
- ◻ Mosaic sites - Osmund's Vineyard
- ..... Boundary of Essex Hundreds

Antiqui. Sharpe, 1919

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